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ABSTRACT

This book is designed to help students better understand the forces that shape the foreign policies of all nations and their stake in the future of the global community. The book is organized into four chapters. Chapter 1 examines the behavior of nations and how national interest dictates perceptions, and, therefore actions, of world leaders. Chapter 2 describes the process by which one nation, the United States, develops its foreign policy. Chapter 3 analyzes how events since 1945 have affected the context in which international relations are conducted. Chapter 4 discusses four issues of global importance--military buildups, problems affecting developing nations, international trade, and the environment. The Teacher's Guide is divided into four units (which correspond to the four chapters of the student text), a student pretest and posttest, unit test materials, and student handouts. Each unit contains a list of objectives, key terms, motivation activity, essay and discussion items, and student activities. (DB)

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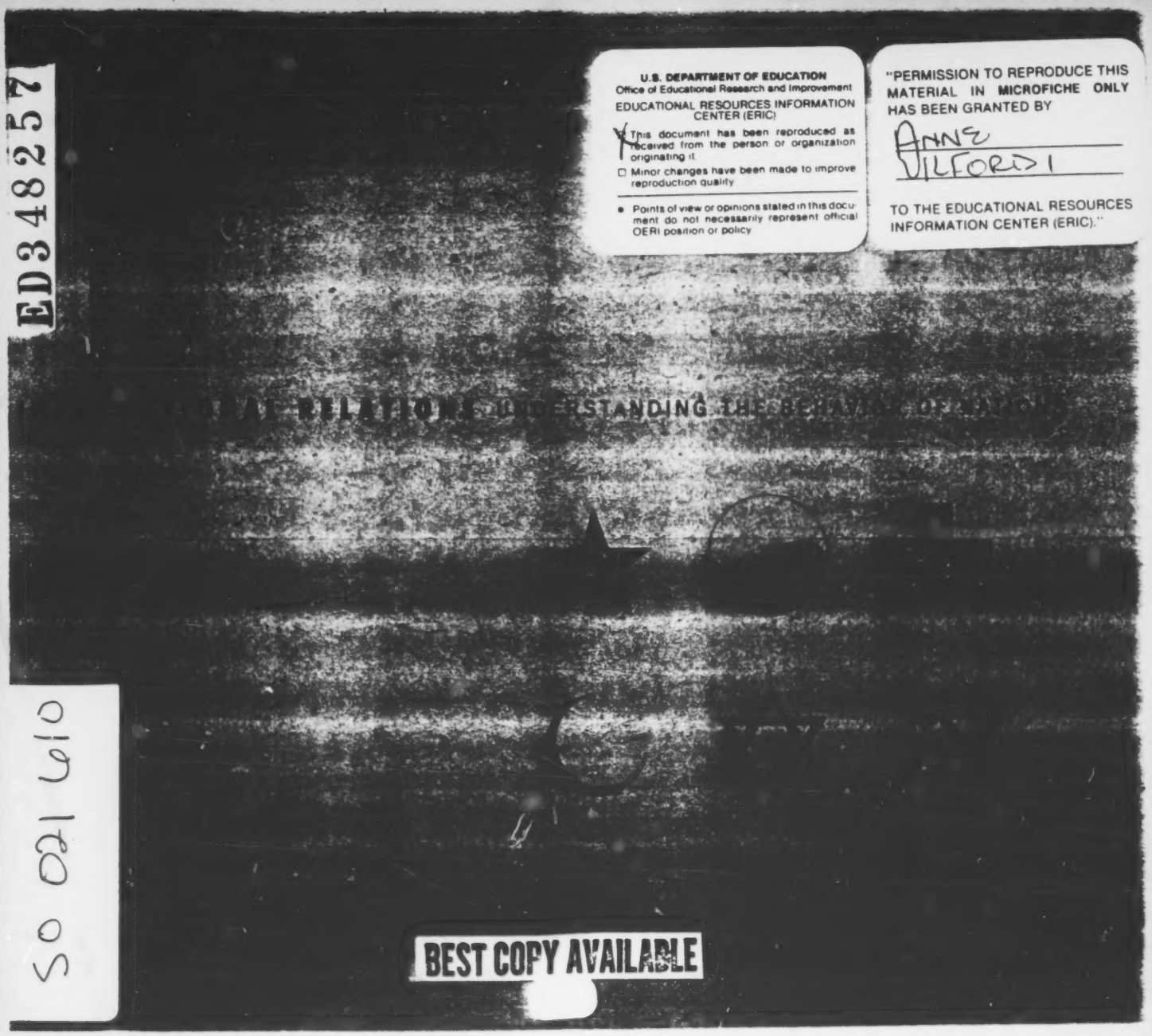

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS UNDERSTANDING THE BEHAVIOR OF NATIONS

SECOND EDITION

20 Years of Education for Democracy

Close Up Foundation
Stephen A. Janger, President

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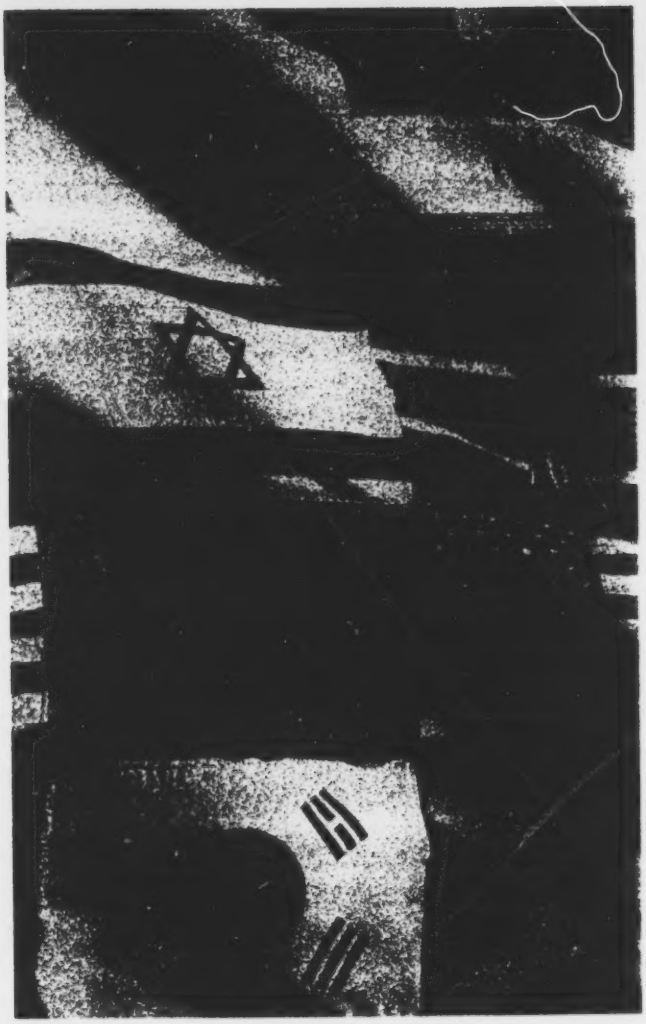

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Introduction

In 1940, there were 77 independent nations in the world. Today, there are more than 160. Some nations are friendly with one another, while others are hostile to their neighbors. Some are rich in natural resources, while others must import large quantities of energy, minerals, or food. Some nations have thriving economies that make them rich and self-sufficient, while other nations are so poor that their existence depends almost entirely on foreign aid. These and other characteristics—including language, religion, culture, and type of government—influence the way particular leaders think the world should function and the role their nation should play in world affairs.

In today's world, no nation acts in isolation. Decisions made by one nation's leaders—about agricultural production, regulation of industry, or military expenditures—can have a dramatic effect on other nations. The interdependence of nations makes international relations—or the interaction among nations—complex and ever-changing.

This book will explain why nations compete, why they cooperate, and why they sometimes go to war.

Chapter 1 examines the behavior of nations and how national interest dictates the perceptions—and, therefore, the actions—of world leaders. Chapter 2 describes the process by which one nation—the United States—develops its foreign policy. Chapter 3 analyzes how events since 1945 have affected the context in which international relations are conducted. Chapter 4 discusses four issues of global importance—military buildups, problems affecting the Third World, international trade, and the environment.

This book will help you understand the forces that shape the foreign policies of all nations and your stake in the future of the global community.

In today's interdependent world, events in one nation affect many other nations. Sulfur emissions from the United States cause acid rain, which harms the timber industry and wilderness areas of neighboring Canada. The threat of a South American country defaulting on its loans causes concern on Wall Street. A famine in Africa mobilizes relief efforts around the world.

Once a collection of isolated nations, the world is now a global community. Modern methods of communication and transportation give world leaders access to more information more quickly. And because the world is so closely linked, understanding the behavior of individual nations is critical to understanding world events.

Defining National Interest

Underlying the behavior of nations is the concept of *interest*. Used in this context, interest means advantage or benefit. The concept of national interest can be likened to a person's *self-interest*.

Most people act out of self-interest. They base their actions on what will be to their benefit or advantage. However, not all people define self-interest the same way. For example, some individuals value financial success more than anything else, so they base their actions on increasing personal wealth. Others value religious ideals and act according to their faith. Still others value power and seek ways to increase their authority over others. Most people base their actions on their own perception of what is in their self-interest.

On the national level, citizens look to their leaders to carry out policies that promote their nation's self-interest, or *national interest*. At first glance, the idea of national interest may seem fairly simple: it is what is best for a particular nation. But not all citizens of a nation agree on what is best. Perceptions of national interest vary from person to person and evolve over time.

National interest is a combination of the security, economic, and ideological concerns of a nation. Even though every nation in the world tries to meet certain basic needs so it can survive and develop, each nation is unique and has its own set of concerns. Some nations, such as Chad or Bangladesh, are concerned primarily with survival—with feeding their people or protecting themselves from attack. Others, like Niger or Malaysia, seek to develop their natural resources so they can trade them for food and other commodities. Nations such as Japan and the United States have relatively little difficulty feeding their people and are more concerned with the continued growth of their industrial economies. Although every country in the world has a unique perception of its own national interest, all share three broad concerns: security, economics, and ideology.

Security Interests

The most basic interest of any nation, from the tiny island state of Grenada to the giant People's Republic of China, is ensuring its physical survival. National governments form armies to protect themselves from attack and join military alliances to ensure protection against more powerful foes.

A nation's concern about security depends on its perception of the threat against it. For example, Israel maintains a large, well-equipped army because it is surrounded by hostile neighbors. In contrast, Austria has a small army and spends less on defense because of its position of neutrality, its friendly relations with nations in Eastern and Western Europe, and the protection provided by the Alps on its western and southern borders.

But security interests mean more than just protection against outside attack. A nation must also make sure that social order is maintained and that its citizens are safe from violence and crime.

Economic Interests

Most nations seek to promote the economic welfare of their people. The economic interests of nations vary according to the availability and type of resources and the development and exportation of those resources.

Developing countries, such as Ethiopia and Bangladesh, need to procure the basic necessities of life—food, clothing, shelter, and health care—for their people. They lack the agricultural methods or the manufacturing industries that would enable them to move beyond basic survival. Because they are unable to produce enough food for their people, they trade raw materials or cash crops for food and advanced technology.

Other nations, such as Germany and Japan, are highly industrialized and produce a variety of products, including food, industrial machinery, automobiles, computers, and clothing. Developed countries usually produce more than they need. They then export these products, mostly manufactured goods, to other nations in exchange for needed raw materials, other finished products, or money.

The economic growth of many nations depends on their ability to buy and sell products abroad. Their economic interests are determined by the wants and needs of their citizens, the types of products they have to sell, and how developed their economies are.

Ideological Interests

Security and economic concerns alone do not explain why nations behave the way they do. *Ideology*—a combination of the beliefs, values, culture, religion, and historical experiences of a nation's people—also plays a role. All nations are interested in protecting their way of life at home, and many try to promote it abroad as well.

The United States, for example, has an interest in promoting and protecting its democratic way of life. Americans believe that democracy is the best form of government. Therefore, U.S. leaders encourage people around the world to hold free elections and to establish representative forms of government.

Defining National Interest

Although every nation in the world has a unique perception of its own national interest, all nations share three broad concerns: security, economics, and ideology. To determine its nation's interest, a national government assesses threats to its security, the health of its economy, and the well-being of its citizens.

Security Interests

- *Protecting national borders*
- *Maintaining relations with allies*
- *Ensuring the safety of citizens from violence and crime*

Economic Interests

- *Providing citizens with an adequate standard of living*
- *Ensuring economic development and growth*
- *Establishing trade relations with other nations*

Ideological Interests

- *Supporting a way of life at home and promoting it abroad*
- *Protecting the cultural and religious heritage of a nation*
- *Promoting a system of government*

Iran, on the other hand, also has an interest in promoting and protecting its way of life. It believes that governments, particularly in the Middle East and North Africa, should follow the religion of Shi'ite Islam. Iranian leaders encourage other nations to adopt forms of government based on Islamic values and beliefs.

These three concerns—security, economics, and ideology—do not exist independently. Often, an economic or ideological concern is also a security concern. For example, if people do not have enough to eat, the stability and, therefore, the security of their government may be threatened. Some leaders believe that the physical security of their

nation depends on adherence to a particular religion. Such leaders encourage their citizens to do whatever is necessary—including going to war—to defend ideological beliefs.

The responsibility for defining the national interest falls to a nation's political leaders. In each country, a national government assesses threats to its security, the health of its economy, and the general well-being of its citizens to determine its national interest. There is no election to determine national interest. Leaders base their views on what they *perceive* to be in the best interest of the nation. However, perceptions change, and people do not always view the same situation in the same way. A perception is but one view—at one particular time—and is seldom the only view.

Developing Foreign Policy

In every nation of the world, leaders develop a *foreign policy*—or a course of action—to pursue the national interest of their countries. The ability of a nation to carry out its foreign policy is based on many factors, including its power, its geography, and the commitment of its people to support the foreign policy actions of their leaders. Leaders of all nations must consider these factors carefully because their decisions will have far-reaching effects both at home and abroad.

In developing foreign policy, leaders generally try to balance their nation's immediate needs with its long-term goals. For example, a leader faced with mass starvation may give higher priority to trading for food than for high-tech equipment. In addition, new circumstances, such as an improved or weakened economy, the discovery of mineral wealth, or the militarization of a hostile neighbor, can force leaders to reevaluate the needs of their country.

Power and the Pursuit of National Interest

Powerful nations are often more successful in reaching their policy goals than less powerful countries. In international relations, power refers to a nation's ability to influence others.

For centuries, philosophers, world leaders, and scholars have tried to define the nature of power. Some thinkers have concluded that nations act to prevent any one country from becoming too powerful. According to this way of thinking, if one country grows too strong, others will shift alliances and change policies to prevent the stronger nation from using or abusing its power. Others believe that weaker countries ally themselves with powerful ones to gain more influence in the world and to receive protection from its stronger ally.

No formula exists for predicting the power or potential power of a nation. As with national interest, power derives from a variety of characteristics.

Some nations are powerful because they occupy a strategic location or because they control a valuable resource. Others are powerful because they develop strong, diversified economies. And sometimes a nation is strong because its people are willing to sacrifice anything to achieve that nation's goals. However, the most powerful are nations like the United States, which seem to have many of these characteristics.

No nation has absolute power. The amount of power a nation has is relative to that of other nations and is based on a combination of factors. An economist might think that Japan is powerful because of its efficient and prosperous economy. A general, on the other hand, might disagree, because Japan relies heavily on the United States for military support. In developing a foreign policy, the relative power of a nation may affect the strategies it employs to achieve its national goals. Several factors determine the relative power of a nation, including *geopolitics*, the way a nation's geography affects its relations with other nations, and *national resolve*, the willingness of people to sacrifice in order to achieve national goals.

Geopolitics

A nation's geography—its size, climate and terrain, natural resources, and location—affects its political interaction with other nations. Historically, the geographic characteristics of a nation have greatly influenced its national experience and its behavior toward other nations. Although modern technology allows nations to overcome some geographic obstacles, geopolitics continues to play an important role in relations between nations.

Size

Size is an important geopolitical characteristic of every nation. Nations of the world vary tremendously in size. At one extreme is the Soviet Union, which covers more than 8 million square miles and is larger than the entire continent of South America. At the other extreme is the tiny island nation of Grenada, which is 133 square miles—one-ninth the size of Rhode Island, America's smallest state.

Large nations have many advantages over small nations. First, large nations are more likely to contain important mineral resources, fertile types of soil, diverse terrain, and a variety of climates. These conditions allow a nation to diversify its economy, that is, establish an economy that is not dependent on a single crop or industry. For instance, American farmers can produce a variety of crops and livestock that require different types of soil and growing seasons. U.S. manufacturers can choose from a list of natural resources—such as coal, oil, natural gas, timber, and minerals—that allows them to develop a wide range of industries and products.

A second advantage enjoyed by large nations is that they are better equipped to deal with natural disasters. If an earthquake, drought, flood, or hurricane strikes a large nation, the nation as a whole can survive the catastrophe and help the afflicted area. In the United States, drought in one region need not result in mass food shortages. Other parts of the nation are able to come to the aid of areas that have been devastated by hurricane or flood.

Finally, large nations are more likely to be able to survive a military attack. During World War II, for example, Nazi Germany could not overrun the Soviet Union because the Soviet army was able to draw on its nation's huge population to provide them with a massive supply of soldiers. In addition, the Soviets were able to move factories and civilians out of the range of invading forces. A smaller nation might have fallen to the Nazis or had to depend more heavily on other nations for help.

The size of a nation contributes to its ability to absorb disasters and to recuperate and prosper. Size, however, is only one factor that affects geopolitics.

Climate and Terrain

Climate and terrain are additional factors that affect the geopolitics of a nation. In Africa, nations such as Chad are affected by desert conditions. Chad does not receive sufficient rainfall to grow enough

Geopolitical Advantage

Geopolitics is the way a nation's geography—its size, climate and terrain, natural resources, and location—affects its interactions with other nations. Although modern technology allows nations to overcome some obstacles, geopolitics continues to play an important role in relations between nations. All nations seek to use their geopolitical advantages to pursue their national interests.

United States

- *Geopolitical advantage: location.*
- *Protected by the world's two largest oceans, the United States has been safe from invasion since the early 1800s.*

Switzerland

- *Geopolitical advantage: terrain.*
- *Protected by mountainous borders, Switzerland has been able to maintain a policy of armed neutrality.*

Soviet Union

- *Geopolitical advantage: size.*
- *With more than 8,000,000 square miles, the Soviet Union has a variety of natural resources, types of soil, and climates.*

Saudi Arabia

- *Geopolitical advantage: natural resources.*
- *Rich in oil, Saudi Arabia controls a key energy source for the rest of the world.*

food for its population. Thus, leaders of Chad must cultivate good trade relations with nations that are able to provide their nation with adequate food.

The terrain along a nation's borders can affect that nation's security. For example, Poland has been invaded many times because its western border is a plain that offers no natural protection. Switzerland, on the other hand, has been able to maintain a policy of neutrality, despite several wars in Europe, largely because of its mountainous borders.

Natural Resources

The natural resources of a nation can be a key factor in its geopolitics. Small nations with few resources can command considerable influence if they control a resource that is in great demand. In 1973, major oil-producing nations—including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Nigeria—raised the price of oil, curtailed production, and placed an embargo on some shipments. Since the world's industrialized nations depend on oil as a key energy source, the result of the embargo was a worldwide energy crisis of massive proportions. The oil embargo of 1973 demonstrated how the world's dependency on one source of energy could give several nations tremendous power over much of the rest of the world.

Some nations, such as Germany and Japan, are endowed with several key resources but need to import others. The relationships of these two countries with other nations reflect their need for oil and other raw materials to fuel their industrial economies. As a consequence, both Germany and Japan try to maintain neutral policies toward nations in the Middle East because they are so dependent on that region's supply of oil.

Nations with diverse resources—such as the United States, the Soviet Union, and Canada—are usually less dependent on others to fulfill their needs. Rich in natural resources, these countries are able to pursue foreign policies that reflect their relative independence from other nations.

Location

One of the most important geopolitical concerns of any nation is its location. If a nation is surrounded by friendly neighbors, it does not have to take undue measures to protect its borders. For example, although the border between the United States and Canada is the longest open border in the world, it requires little monitoring because the two countries are friendly. The United States is also protected by the world's two largest oceans, a feature that historically has saved the country from invasion.

However, if a nation is bordered by hostile neighbors, it will have to protect its borders against attack. For instance, Israel shares borders with nations that do not recognize its right to exist. Since its creation in 1948, Israel has fought five wars with its neighbors. Because of this, the Israelis are extremely concerned about maintaining secure borders against potential invaders.

The location of some nations gives them a *strategic* advantage. The word "strategic" often describes something that is of great importance to a strategy or plan, usually a military plan. The United States believes Iceland is strategic because it is located halfway between North America and Europe. The United States considers the Philippines strategic because of that country's location in the South Pacific. The U.S. government maintains friendly relations with both nations because it wants to keep military bases there.

National Resolve

Geopolitical advantages enhance a nation's ability to promote its national interest. However, a nation with few advantages can achieve some power if its people share strong beliefs about the nation's goals

and interests and a strong desire to achieve them—that is, if they have *national resolve*. National resolve is an important, though intangible, element of power.

Very often the political leaders of a nation mobilize public opinion and motivate people to work for a nation's goals. Throughout history, appeals to nationalism, ideology, or religion have prompted people to sacrifice to achieve national goals. Threats to national security also increase resolve. For example, Iranian soldiers killed during the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s were considered religious martyrs in Iran. Inspired by Islamic teachings, these young soldiers were willing to die for a cause.

But sometimes people are not willing to support the policies of their nation's government. In the 1960s and early 1970s, many Americans did not support U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. Public reaction against the war eventually forced the U.S. government to withdraw its troops. Few leaders can be successful in international relations without the support of a majority of their nation's people.

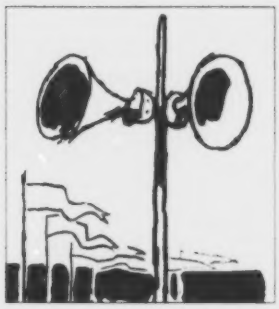
In every country of the world, a national government strives to assess threats to security, the health of the economy, and the well-being of the people to determine the national interest. Since no nation can fulfill all its needs domestically, every nation must have a plan for dealing with other nations—a foreign policy.

Geopolitical advantages and national resolve add greatly to a nation's power. For this reason, leaders seek to convert the geopolitical advantages of their nation into economic and military power. Economic and military strength adds to a nation's stability—e.g., its security—and most leaders recognize that ensuring stability is in their nation's interest.

The Tools of Foreign Policy

Nations possess an array of tools for carrying out foreign policy goals. Diplomacy, foreign aid, trade sanctions, and military intervention are just some of the tools available to policymakers to conduct international relations. Some tools, such as exchanging diplomatic representatives, are considered nonthreatening and actually help to build good relations among nations. Other tools, although they do not directly involve the military, are so severe that they are considered equivalent to war. For example, prior to the U.S.-led United Nations war with Iraq in 1991, the UN imposed strict economic and trade sanctions against Iraq that virtually cut off all food and medical supplies to that nation for more than five months. Although the attempt to "starve Iraq into submission" was eventually abandoned, most international observers viewed the sanctions as being just one step away from military action.

When formulating foreign policy, a nation's leaders must consider not only their own goals, but also how other countries will be affected by their actions. An effective leader anticipates the reaction of other nations and uses the foreign policy tools that he or she deems appropriate to the situation at that particular time. Since relations among nations are constantly changing, leaders continually adjust their use of foreign policy tools. An international crisis or a change in leadership of one nation can cause others to alter their foreign policies and to choose new tools to promote the interests of their nations.



Propaganda

Propaganda is one-sided or exaggerated information that is used by a nation to gain both national and international support for its policies or to discredit the policies of an adversary. Propaganda is spread through newspapers, books, radio and television broadcasts, or simply through word of mouth. Throughout history, propaganda has been used extensively to influence public opinion.

Diplomacy

Diplomatic relations are the formal contacts between national governments. Most of the business between nations is conducted through discussions and conferences involving diplomats. Diplomats arrange trade and shipping agreements and serve as resources for visiting citizens. To avoid unnecessary disagreements, diplomacy is conducted under strict international rules and conventions.

Ambassadors are the highest-ranking diplomats. Their job is to represent the opinions and interests of their country to the host government and to report on the major developments in the host country.

Diplomatic Recognition

By establishing diplomatic relations, one nation *recognizes*, or accepts, the right of a foreign government to represent its people. Nations use diplomatic recognition to express approval or disapproval of another nation's new government. If a nation approves of a new government, it will quickly recognize the government and exchange ambassadors. If a nation disapproves of a new government, it will withhold diplomatic recognition and not initiate formal relations.

Cultural and Scientific Exchanges

When nations wish to extend goodwill to each other, they might arrange cultural and scientific exchanges. For example, groups of scientists travel from one nation to another to share information; art exhibits, dance troupes, and musicians provide exposure of different cultures to nations around the world.

When tensions between nations flare, cultural and scientific exchanges are often the first agreements to be canceled.

Negotiations and Treaties

When conflicts arise between two or more nations, they usually hold talks and conferences to try to resolve the problem peacefully. At such talks, diplomats exchange information, discuss the views of their leaders, and negotiate compromises to solve problems. When diplomats reach an agreement, they formalize the decisions by writing a treaty. *Bilateral treaties* are formal agreements between two nations on issues of mutual concern. *Multilateral treaties* are treaties signed by three or more nations.

Treaties form the basis of international law and cover a variety of issues, including the handling of international mail, coordination of international air traffic, regulation of international shipping, and cooperation on plans to prevent airplane hijackings.

Summit Meetings

Most negotiations among nations are conducted by high-ranking diplomats and other officials. However, sometimes an issue is so important that heads of state need to talk face to face. Meetings between heads of state are called *summit meetings*. Summit meetings attempt to create cooperation among nations, most often to resolve

immediate problems but sometimes to lay the groundwork for improving longer-term or broader relations.

Recalling Diplomats

When one nation strongly disapproves of another nation's policies, the displeased nation may order its diplomats to return home. However, the recalling of diplomats is considered an extreme measure. Sometimes, only the ambassador is recalled, in which case day-to-day relations between nations, although strained, can continue. When all diplomats are recalled, it signals a complete cutoff of diplomatic relations.

Expelling Diplomats

Under international law, diplomats and their families cannot be arrested or tried for a crime in the host nation. This practice, known as *diplomatic immunity*, was developed to protect diplomats from harsh treatment if two nations were at war or on bad terms. However, if a diplomat commits a serious crime such as spying, murder, or drug trafficking, the host nation can expel the offending diplomat from the country. Sometimes a host government will order expulsions when it disagrees with the policies of another country. Nations often respond to these expulsions by expelling the other nation's diplomats as well.

Trade Relations

Trade relations are another way in which nations conduct foreign policy. Some trade agreements are made between nations to reduce or eliminate trade restrictions on each other's goods. This type of agreement promotes stability and growth in the economies of both nations. Developed nations sometimes grant preferential trade agreements to undeveloped nations to encourage economic development.

Nations can also use trade to try to change or influence the domestic policies of a trading partner. Restrictions on trade can be instituted to show disapproval of the policies of a nation. Trade relations often reflect the state of political relations between nations.

Establishing Trade Relations

Establishing trade relations is one way of showing cooperation between nations after a period of tension. For example, when the United States and the Soviet Union entered into *detente* in 1972, they agreed to expand trade relations between their nations.

In addition, establishing trade relations allows nations to open up avenues of communication while they work out political differences. Although the United States did not formally recognize the People's Republic of China until 1979, both nations agreed in 1972 to conduct limited trade as a prelude to establishing formal diplomatic relations.

Restrictions on Trade

Nations restrict trade for two basic reasons: either they want to protect a domestic industry from foreign competition, or they want to discriminate against products exported by another nation. Trade restrictions take two basic forms: tariffs and quotas. *Tariffs* are taxes on imports. *Quotas* set limits on the amount of goods that can be imported.

Some nations restrict the sale of certain products to adversaries or potential adversaries because of national security. For example, the United States restricts the sale of high-technology equipment such as computers to the Soviet Union because American leaders fear the Soviets might use such equipment for military purpose.

Trade Agreements

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is a multilateral trade agreement. Periodically, nations that have signed the GATT

agree to negotiate new rules, lower tariffs, and fewer trade restrictions to help increase trade worldwide.

Nations are increasingly using bilateral treaties—agreements between two countries—to solve trade problems or increase their trade with each other. Such treaties can be used to reduce or eliminate tariffs and to stimulate trade in new goods and services. Sometimes a nation will agree to limit certain exports to another nation. Exporting nations are willing to accept these agreements because the price of their exports rises, increasing their profits. Weak industries in the importing nation benefit from less competition from higher-priced imports. These industries then have time to improve their products before the treaty expires and competing imports begin to arrive again.

Foreign Aid

Many of the world's wealthy nations provide economic and military aid to undeveloped countries to foster economic development, gain and protect allies, and promote internal stability. Aid can come in the form of cash, equipment, or technical advice. There are two types of foreign aid: economic and military.

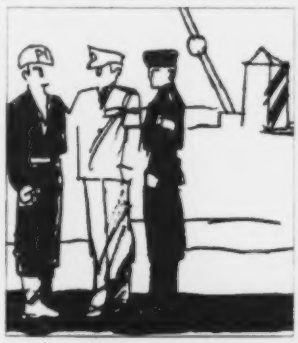
Economic Aid

Economic aid is usually given in the form of cash grants or loans, but can also include food, farming equipment, or technical assistance. Developing nations use economic aid to stimulate economic growth. Such aid can be used to build power plants, encourage more efficient farming methods, and develop domestic industries. Economic aid can also be used to find solutions for long-term problems such as overpopulation, hunger, or disease.

Nations seek economic aid from international organizations, such as the World Bank, or from individual countries. Aid that is granted through an international organization is called *multilateral aid*. Aid that is granted by one nation directly to another nation is called *bilateral aid*.

Military Aid

Military aid can consist of cash grants for developing a stronger defense, but can also include weapons, training programs, or military advisers. Military aid serves to enhance the donor nation's security by strengthening another nation's military forces. Military aid is used to help friendly governments stay in power or to aid potential allies in their efforts to overthrow a hostile government.



Alliances

Alliances are multilateral agreements among nations to protect each other in case of attack by an adversary. Nations join together in military alliances for mutual protection and in support of common interests. By joining together, nations tend to have more power—both militarily and politically—than they would by acting alone. For this reason, alliances are especially important to smaller nations.

The biggest military alliance today is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Formed in 1949, NATO now includes Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and the United States. Under the NATO agreement, nations consider an attack on any member country of the alliance as an attack on all members.

International and Regional Organizations

International organizations are made up of every nation that wishes to participate. These organizations vary greatly in purpose and in the types of issues they address. International and regional organizations play a dual role in international relations. First, they provide a forum for nations to cooperate on problems that affect all nations; and second, they act as "players" in the international arena themselves. However, international cooperation sometimes breaks down because individual nations use these organizations to pursue their own national interests.

International Organizations

The United Nations is the best-known international organization. Its primary purpose is to promote peace. To this end, the United Nations espouses the principle of *collective security*, which is the belief that a threat to peace in one nation is considered a threat to world peace.

For the superpowers, the United Nations provides a forum to discuss their different national interests. For smaller nations, the United Nations provides an equal opportunity to express their views—regardless of their size, population, economic development, or military strength.

In addition, there are numerous other international organizations devoted to a variety of purposes. The World Health Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the International Court of Justice are all examples of international organizations.

Regional Organizations

Regional organizations operate much like international organizations, except that their members are located in a particular region of the world. These nations share common interests because they are located close together. For example, the European Economic Community (EC) is composed of most of the nations of Western Europe. The European Community promotes economic cooperation among its members by lowering tariffs and encouraging intra-European trade. The Organization of American States (OAS) was established to promote the joint interests of the sovereign nations of North America and South America and to provide for the collective security of these nations. Other regional organizations, such as the Organization for Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), were founded so that smaller nations could compete with the superpowers on economic and political issues. Working together, these nations are much stronger than they would be if they functioned alone.

Boycotts and Sanctions

Boycotts and sanctions are hostile actions taken against nations. These measures are the most severe form of action that can be taken against a nation short of military action. In some circumstances, boycotts and sanctions are considered acts of war.

A boycott is a decision by one nation or a group of nations to abstain from buying certain goods to try to force a particular nation to change its policies. Boycotts may also take the form of a refusal to participate in international events or meetings. For example, to protest a policy or action, nations may decide to boycott an international sporting event, as the United States did with the Olympic Games in 1980, or a meeting of an international organization, as the United States did with the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1985.

A sanction is an action taken by one or more nations to force another nation to comply with international law or to change its policies. Sanctions can be economic measures, such as denying loans to a nation, or political measures, such as excluding a nation from participating in an international organization.

Military Force

For centuries, people have used military force to gain territory, reclaim previously lost land, extend power over another group of people, spread a religion, or settle disputes. If diplomacy fails to resolve a conflict, or a nation perceives that there are no other alternatives, the use of military force becomes necessary.

Yet, war is only one way that nations use military force in support of foreign policy. Some uses of a nation's military are meant simply as warnings. Others represent a challenge to a nation's sovereignty. Still other military uses are direct threats to another nation's security. When a nation's leaders contemplate using military force, they often consider the consequences of their actions and try to anticipate the reaction of their adversaries and of the world community.

Show of Strength

Nations maintain military forces to show that they are prepared to defend themselves. A show of strength is the strategic positioning of armed forces around the world. For example, the U.S. and Soviet navies constantly remind the world and each other of their military power by continually patrolling the world's oceans.

If a nation perceives that a conflict in another region of the world could threaten its national interests, it may send part of its military forces to that region. In this way, a nation can "keep an eye on" a situation. In 1987, for example, the U.S. Navy began escorting Kuwaiti oil tankers in the Persian Gulf as a warning to Iran that the United States was prepared to take military action to guarantee that international shipping lanes remain open.

Terrorism

Terrorism is becoming more common in international relations. In general, terrorism involves international acts of violence—such as hijacking airplanes, taking hostages, or setting off bombs in public places—carried out by nongovernmental groups that want to gain attention for their political causes. Sometimes these groups receive equipment, money, or moral support from their own or foreign governments. Some nations have been accused of allowing terrorists to live, work, and escape arrest within their borders. Although most countries condemn terrorism, some nations support it, usually secretly, to help accomplish foreign policy goals that seem difficult to achieve in other ways.

Limited Military Response

Limited military responses are short-term military actions designed to force another nation to back down in a specific dispute and possibly to resolve the conflict through diplomacy. A limited military response warns the offending nation that it is risking full-scale war by its actions and alerts the world community that a nation is willing to fight for its security and ideals. The action clearly communicates what a nation considers unacceptable. In 1983, for instance, the United States invaded Grenada to eliminate Cuban and other communist activity in the nation. Through this limited military action, the United States let the world know that it would not tolerate communist expansion in the Caribbean.

War

When all efforts for solving a conflict fail, nations go to war. Because the costs of war—to individuals, to society, and to nations—

are tremendous, nations perceive war as the foreign policy tool of last resort. Most nations go to war only when they believe that the benefits of battle will outweigh the costs.

The development of new weapons in the twentieth century changed the way in which wars are fought. In World War I, the first use of armored tanks gave British and American forces a decided advantage in the war's final months. In World War II, the development of the atomic bomb changed the way nations defined military power. Today, nuclear weapons make war a more dangerous alternative for resolving conflicts than at any other time in history.

The national interest of the United States is shaped by many different factors. Like the leaders of other countries, U.S. leaders seek to develop a foreign policy to protect American citizens, maintain economic and military strength, and preserve the nation's values. In many ways, however, the United States is not like other countries. Its location, economic system, and type of government have given the United States unique advantages, enabling it to become a leading player in world affairs.

Geopolitical Advantages of the United States

Historically, the United States has been insulated from the nations of Europe and Asia by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The vast distances separating the United States from the Old World—Europe, Asia, and Africa—have guarded it from military invasion. For much of U.S. history, American leaders, beginning with George Washington, sought to reinforce this protective isolation by avoiding entanglement in the affairs of distant countries. Unlike many other peoples, Americans seldom have had to worry that a foreign army would overrun their country. To reduce the chance of invasion by land, the United States has generally maintained friendly relations with governments in neighboring Canada and Mexico.

Economically, Americans live in one of the most prosperous nations in the world. The prosperity of the United States stems from its size, variety of climates, and abundance of natural resources. The U.S. economic system of free enterprise allows Americans to take advantage of the opportunities that their nation offers. In large measure, the stability of the United States is directly related to the diversity of its economy.

Ideologically, Americans feel a strong commitment to preserving their way of life. They live in one of the freest societies in the world. The U.S. system of government guarantees citizens the right to think, speak, worship, and act freely upon their own beliefs and provides individuals with an opportunity to succeed.

The United States has experienced tremendous growth in the twentieth century. Today, it is a leading force in world affairs—militarily, economically, and ideologically—and American interests stretch around the globe. The leaders of the United States place great importance on advancing the cause of freedom in the world. U.S. foreign policy reflects a desire to protect the security of the nation and other democratic nations.

The Making of U.S. Foreign Policy

The U.S. Constitution leaves considerable room for argument over who makes foreign policy. This 200-year old document splits the power to determine U.S. foreign policy between the president and Congress. Although the Constitution lists some specific powers that the president and Congress each have, constitutional scholars say that there is no clear answer to the question of who should be more influential—the president or Congress. Nevertheless, most of the initiative is in the president's hands.

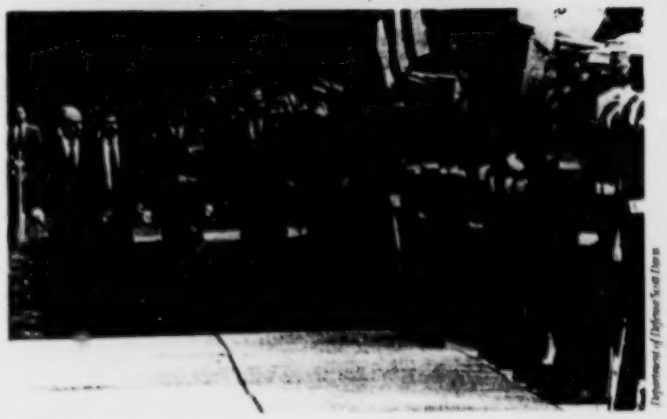
Since the founding of the United States, the executive and legislative branches have fought with each other for control of relations with other countries. In some eras, the president has been dominant, while at other times, Congress has been more powerful. One expert has called the Constitution "an invitation to struggle" over foreign policy.

The President

The president is the single most important person in the making of foreign policy. The president sets the foreign policy agenda, and Congress must react to it. The most important powers given to the president by the Constitution in regard to foreign policy are to conduct war, to make treaties and other international agreements, and to appoint ambassadors and other top officials.

Powers of the President

Conduct War. The president is commander-in-chief of all U.S. military forces. As such, he or she can use the armed forces to advance U.S. foreign policy goals. Although the Constitution gives Congress the right to declare war, presidents do not need a declaration of war to order the military into battle. None of the military actions of the United States since World War II—including the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the invasions of Grenada and Panama, or the sending of U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia to protect that nation against Iraq—involved a declaration of war. All were ordered by the president without the formal approval of Congress.



Department of Defense Still Photo

Commander-in-chief

The president of the United States is the commander-in-chief of all U.S. military forces. As such, the president can use the armed forces to advance U.S. foreign policy goals.

Since the dawn of the nuclear age, the president has been given another awesome responsibility as the commander-in-chief of the military: only the president can order a nuclear attack by the United States.

Make Treaties and Other International Agreements. The president and the president's representatives negotiate agreements with other nations to end wars, control weapons, regulate international trade, and resolve other issues. One type of international agreement, a treaty, must be submitted to the Senate for approval before it can go into effect. However, in recent years, presidents frequently have used ***executive agreements***, international accords that do not require Senate approval. Such agreements allow presidents and their advisers to work out agreements

Constitutional Powers of the President: Foreign Policy

- *Conduct war*
- *Make treaties and other international agreements*
- *Appoint ambassadors and other top officials*

with other governments without having to worry whether the Senate will accept them.

Appoint Ambassadors and Other Top Officials. It is important for presidents to be served by people who agree with their general approach to foreign policy. In addition to appointments made in recognition of particular expertise, presidents often reward people who supported their presidential election campaigns by appointing them to be ambassadors.

Presidential Decisionmaking

Although the president is the ultimate decisionmaker, much of his or her responsibility is delegated to the White House staff because of the vast number of decisions that must be made daily.

The White House Staff. The president, as chief executive, is surrounded by personal aides, many of whom may have been political supporters before the election. These aides help the president sort through many competing demands. They advise the chief executive on the political and economic consequences of foreign policy decisions. Although these aides also may try to change the president's mind, presidential authority is final within the executive branch.

The vice-president may be an important adviser to the president and frequently represents the chief executive on visits to other countries. But the vice-president has little power over foreign policy.

The National Security Council (NSC) is the group within the White House that coordinates foreign policy. Chaired by the president, it is often the body that shapes the U.S. response to a foreign policy crisis. Sometimes the national security adviser, who oversees the functioning of the NSC, is a strong personality with close ties to the president. In that case, the NSC can be the most important foreign policy body in the whole government. For example, during President Richard Nixon's first term, National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger had more power than Secretary of State William Rogers.

The Cabinet. Outside the White House, the two most important agencies in determining foreign policy are the Department of State and the Department of Defense. These cabinet departments are headed by secretaries and other top officials appointed by the president. They are most often political supporters of the president, and generally agree with the president's foreign policy goals.

However, cabinet secretaries and other agency heads also support the interests and orientations of their own departments. This may bring the secretary of state and the secretary of defense into conflict with one another, as the two departments compete to persuade the president to adopt different policies. Frequently, the State Department may favor a diplomatic approach to a problem, an outlook influenced by its need to work with other governments, whereas Defense Department officials may favor strategies that emphasize military force.

The Bureaucracy. Policies decided by the president and his or her top advisers are carried out by the government bureaucracy. Most bureaucrats are civil service employees who stay with the government regardless of changes in presidential administrations. The most important foreign policy bureaucracy is the Foreign Service, the corps of professional diplomats who hold important positions in embassies abroad. These officials are supposed to support the policies of the current administration. However, diplomats sometimes disagree personally with those policies and may seek to alter or delay the course favored by the president in hopes that the next president will adopt a

different policy. Supporters of a president frequently complain that the permanent foreign policy bureaucrats are not working hard enough to carry out the administration's policies.

Intelligence Agencies. A key source of the president's ability to make foreign policy decisions is his or her access to information. Intelligence agencies—such as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), and the National Security Agency (NSA)—provide information to the president that is not available to Congress.

In recent decades, intelligence agencies have become increasingly important. They are responsible for evaluating the strength of another country's military force and for predicting what other countries intend to do. Intelligence agencies undertake secret spying operations and analyze publicly available information. In addition, they may be asked to engage in *covert*, or secret, activities: actions that U.S. leaders do not want to be publicly identified with, but which they feel are necessary to the success of a particular policy objective.

Congress

The Constitution gives Congress a number of ways to influence foreign policy. Under the Constitution, Congress has the power to declare war, control spending, approve treaties, confirm presidential nominations, and pass laws or resolutions stating a specific policy.

Powers of Congress

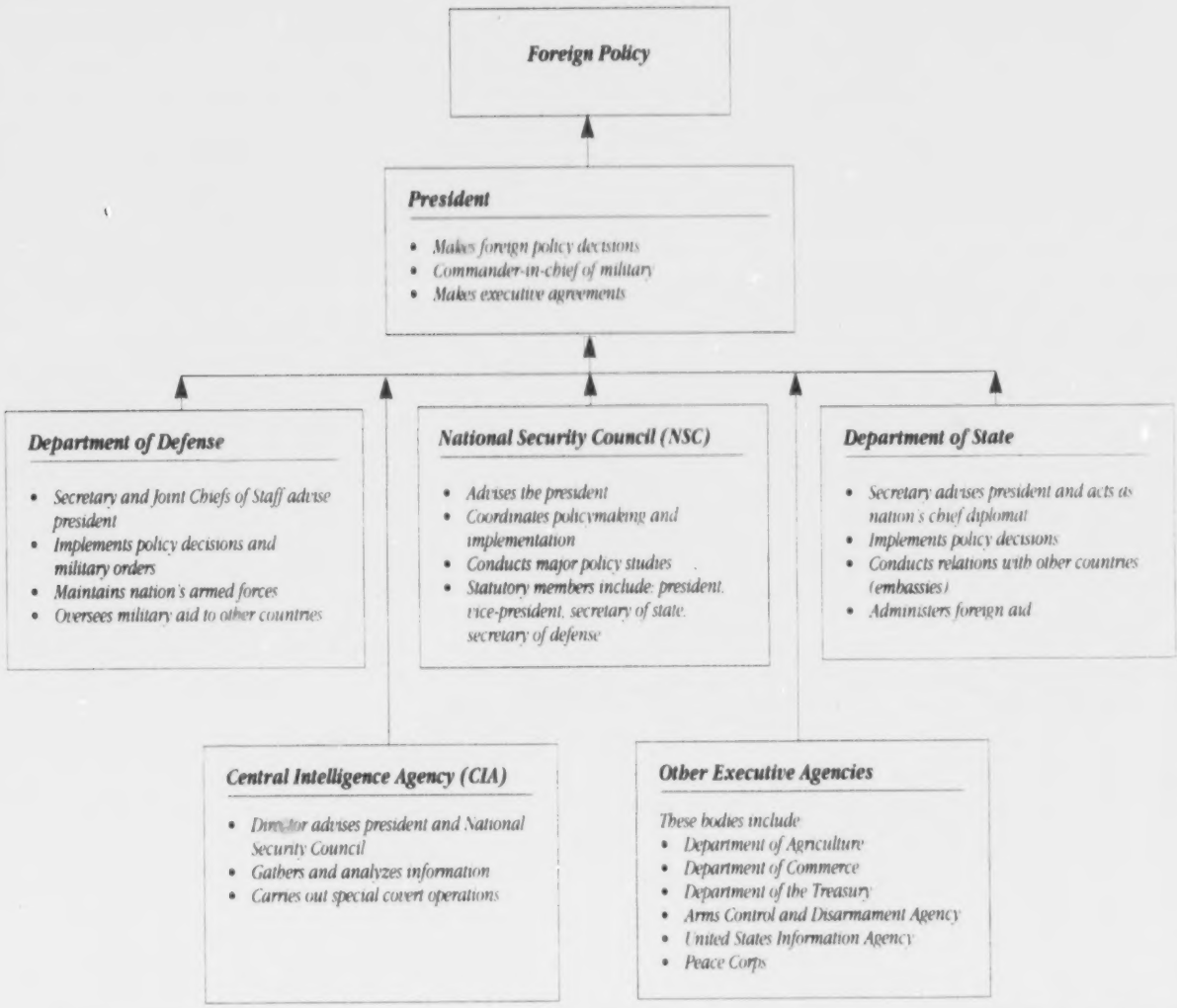
Declare War. Although the Constitution puts the president in charge of military operations, it gives Congress the right to place the nation in a formal state of war. However, this right has become less important over the years because presidents have engaged in hostilities without asking Congress to declare war.

Congress's frustration over its declining control over military conflicts led to the passage of the War Powers Act in 1973. The War Powers Act establishes limits on presidential use of the armed forces. Under this law, the president is allowed to commit U.S. troops to battle for only sixty days. To go beyond that time, the president must persuade Congress to pass a resolution supporting continued use of troops.

When the act was passed, President Nixon vetoed it, but Congress overrode his veto. Since that time, presidents have continued to view

An invitation to struggle?

The president usually sets the country's foreign policy agenda, and Congress must react to it. Nevertheless, since the founding of the nation, the executive and legislative branches have fought each other for control of U.S. foreign policy.


Foreign Policy
President
• Makes foreign policy decisions
• Commander-in-chief of military
• Makes executive agreements
Department of Defense
• Secretary and Joint Chiefs of Staff advise president
• Implements policy decisions and military orders
• Maintains nation's armed forces
• Oversees military aid to other countries
National Security Council (NSC)
• Advises the president
• Coordinates policymaking and implementation
• Conducts major policy studies
• Statutory members include: president, vice-president, secretary of state, secretary of defense
Department of State
• Secretary advises president and acts as nation's chief diplomat
• Implements policy decisions
• Conducts relations with other countries (embassies)
• Administers foreign aid
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
• Director advises president and National Security Council
• Gathers and analyzes information
• Carries out special covert operations
Other Executive Agencies
These bodies include
• Department of Agriculture
• Department of Commerce
• Department of the Treasury
• Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
• United States Information Agency
• Peace Corps

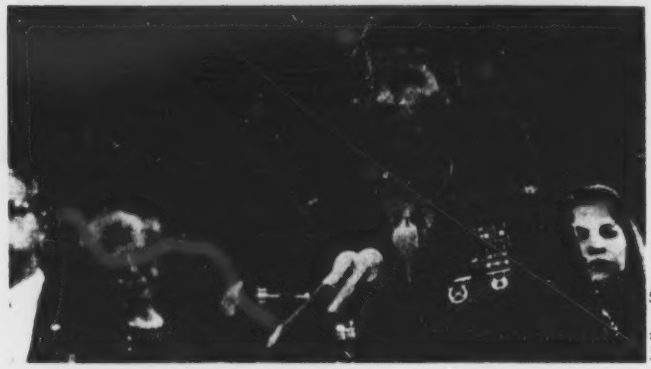
the War Powers Act as an attack on the constitutional authority of the commander-in-chief.

Control Spending. The Constitution gives Congress "the power of the purse." Congress has used that power in recent years to influence foreign policy by providing—or refusing to provide—funds for programs supported by the president. For example, during the early 1970s, members of Congress who opposed the war in Vietnam sought to cut off funds for continuation of U.S. actions. In the 1980s, after heated debate, Congress alternately approved and rejected President Ronald Reagan's requests for money to support *contra* forces fighting the communist-backed Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

Foreign aid is one of the most frequent targets of Congress's power to control spending. For many years, senators and representatives have complained about foreign aid, arguing that money given to other governments would be better spent at home or in countries that currently receive little or no U.S. aid. Congress frequently acts to reduce the president's request for foreign aid, which may include both economic aid (projects to help poor countries expand their economies) and military aid (military equipment and training for the armed forces of friendly nations).

Approve Treaties and Confirm Presidential Nominations. The Constitution gives the power to approve treaties and the power to confirm presidential nominations only to the Senate, not to the House of Representatives. Treaties must be approved by two-thirds of the Senate. However, the Senate's right to give "advice and consent" to the president in making treaties has become less important in recent decades. Presidents have made many executive agreements rather than formal treaties to avoid having to seek Senate approval for their international agreements.

The Senate rarely rejects a treaty outright. Fewer than two dozen treaties have been defeated in the nation's history. If opposition to a treaty is strong, however, presidents may elect to withdraw them from Senate consideration rather than risk political defeat.



U.S. House of Representatives

Congressional power and foreign policy

Members of Congress can call for special committee hearings to examine an administration's foreign policy programs. In 1987, the House and Senate held joint hearings to probe the Reagan administration's conduct of foreign policy in Central America.

The Senate also has the power to amend treaties. During the debate over the Panama Canal treaty in 1978, the Senate made important changes in the agreement worked out with the government of Panama, including a provision allowing the United States to use military force to keep the canal open after it is transferred to the Panamanians by the year 2000.

Confirming the president's appointment of foreign policy officials is another power of the Senate. In some cases, members of the Senate may oppose a nomination as a way of criticizing the president's policies.

Pass Laws or Resolutions Stating a Specific Policy. The Constitution grants Congress the power to pass legislation directing the president on foreign policy matters. Such matters can range from simple expressions of congressional opinion (e.g., calling for the president to

Constitutional Powers of Congress: Foreign Policy

- *Declare war*
- *Control spending*
- *Approve treaties and confirm presidential nominations*
- *Pass laws or resolutions stating a specific policy*

consider formal diplomatic relations with Lithuania) to detailed blueprints for foreign aid programs (e.g., making military aid to El Salvador dependent on continuing negotiations between the Salvadoran government and the communist rebels).

Sometimes, however, the main effect of a bill can be to pressure a president to change a policy. For example, in 1989 after government troops fired on student demonstrators in China, a majority of both the House and the Senate favored allowing Chinese students to stay in the United States after their visas expired. President Bush, who believed that good relations with China were important for the United States, vetoed the bill. However, faced with increasing congressional and public pressure, Bush agreed to extend the students' visas until 1994 through an executive order.

Congressional Decisionmaking

Congress deals with foreign policy issues quite differently than the executive branch does. Unlike the executive branch, where one person—the president—has the final authority over all decisions, power in Congress is spread out. Many different congressional committees can affect foreign policy. Decisionmaking in Congress can be slow and cumbersome, and many members think the legislative process is ill-suited to the rapid changes that take place in international relations.

Two committees, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee, have formal authority over foreign policy issues. However, the prestige and power of the two panels have lessened in recent years as other committees have asserted influence over important foreign policy issues. For example, the Appropriations Committees in the House and Senate can exercise control over foreign aid programs through their power to write funding bills for the government. The House and Senate Armed Services Committees can influence arms negotiations and decisions to make military commitments to other countries. The House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee can affect international trade by approving legislation to raise or lower tariffs. The House and Senate Intelligence Committees, which oversee the CIA and other intelligence agencies, can act to block certain covert activities. Members of Congress can also call for special hearings to examine the administration's foreign policy programs. Hearings are sometimes used as a forum to criticize a president or a policy. In 1987, the House and Senate held joint hearings to probe the Reagan administration's conduct of foreign policy in Central America.

Traditionally, members of Congress have tried to put aside party differences and present a common front when dealing with other countries. Members frequently say that "politics stop at the water's edge." However, each of the 535 members of Congress has his or her own ideas about how foreign policy should be conducted. Individual members of Congress often seek to influence foreign policy by mobilizing public support for their views.

Other Influences on Foreign Policy

The president, top White House advisers, and members of Congress are not the only people who play a role in determining U.S. foreign policy. Many individuals and institutions outside the government are vitally concerned with how the United States acts in the international arena. In many cases, they are able to pressure the government to adopt their positions on foreign policy. The president and Congress must consider these outside influences in making foreign policy decisions.

Public Opinion

The opinions of the American people play a significant role in affecting how the United States relates to other countries. Public opinion most often is expressed through organized groups of people who seek to *lobby*, or persuade, government officials to support a particular point of view. These groups organize around single issues or broad political philosophies.

For example, some groups support a single issue. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee works to maintain and improve relations between the United States and Israel. Other organizations work on broader foreign policy issues. Greenpeace works to prevent the disposal of hazardous waste around the world, to protect marine mammals in the oceans, and to preserve Antarctica as a world park, free from industry, military development, and nuclear power. These interest groups seek to influence foreign policy by educating members of Congress and the public about their views and by contributing time and money to elect officials who share their positions.

AP/Wide World Photos

Power of the people

The opinions of the American people can play a significant role in affecting how the United States conducts its relations with other nations. In many cases, interest groups and individuals are able to pressure government officials into adopting new policies.

Another type of group that affects foreign policy is composed of Americans of certain nationalities who feel ties of blood and loyalty to their former nations or the nations of their ancestors. Such ethnic groups sometimes have a major impact on U.S. foreign policy. For example, Greek-Americans have been successful a number of times in persuading Congress to reduce U.S. aid to Turkey, which has been involved in a dispute with Greece over the island of Cyprus. Jewish-Americans often work to increase U.S. military and economic support for Israel and to try to prevent the sale of arms to Arab countries. People who emigrated from countries annexed by the Soviet Union after World War II, such as Latvia and Lithuania, have advocated U.S. support for independence movements in those Soviet republics, seeking to deny any new trade or economic ties with the Soviet Union until full independence is granted.

Foreign policy decisions can also be affected by groups that focus on economic issues such as international trade. During the early 1980s, American companies producing clothing and other textiles were hurt by overseas competition. After many companies were forced to close and jobs were lost, textile companies and unions worked together to push legislation through Congress that curbed clothing imports.

Americans who are not members of special interest organizations can influence foreign policy by voting. In times of crisis, events in other countries can influence the outcome of an election. For example, many people believe that the major reason President Jimmy Carter lost the 1980 presidential election was that he was unable to secure a quick release of the Americans held hostage in Iran during his first presidential term.

While leaders seek policies that, in the long term, are in the best interests of the nation as a whole, they must consider the competing views of many different segments of American society.

The Media

Most Americans receive information about foreign policy issues from the mass media: television, newspapers, and news magazines. For this reason, the way the media covers an issue can influence public opinion. For the past few decades, American leaders have had to consider how their foreign policy actions will look on television in deciding what policy to pursue.

Because it can present events so vividly, television has an especially strong impact on the way people feel about foreign issues. During the Vietnam War, television news cameras followed U.S. fighting forces into battle, giving most viewers their first glimpse of what war looks and sounds like. The Vietnam War became known as the "living-room war" because it brought reality home to Americans. Faced with vivid images of death and destruction, many people became convinced that the war was a mistake. They pressed the president and Congress to end U.S. involvement in Vietnam, and American troops eventually were withdrawn.

Television also played an important role in the spring of 1989, when it provided live coverage of the rise of a prodemocracy movement in China. University students staged massive sit-ins at Tiananmen Square in Beijing, calling for democracy. Eventually, the demonstrators were suppressed by the Chinese Army, with television providing pictures of Chinese soldiers shooting students and army tanks crushing the demonstrators' tents on the square. These broadcasts upset many Americans. Public outcry led President Bush to stop military sales to China and temporarily cancel high-level meetings with its leaders.

Because public opinion about foreign policy is shaped to a great degree by the media, U.S. leaders must consider how their actions will be interpreted by the press. Leaders in a democracy must keep in mind the impact of media coverage—whether balanced or biased, shallow or thorough—on public opinion.

The media and foreign policy

The media has a strong impact in shaping public opinion about international issues. When television news programs aired films showing death and destruction in Vietnam, many Americans pressed the government to withdraw U.S. troops from the war.

U.S. Allies

The leaders of the United States must seek to balance the wishes of allied countries with America's own needs. The U.S. government does not let its allies tell it what to do, but neither does it ignore their opinions. American leaders often consult with foreign leaders before making foreign policy decisions.

Our most important allies are the large industrial democracies—Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan. Leaders of these nations meet each year to discuss international issues. Although the United States also has alliances with many other countries, they do not have as much influence on U.S. foreign policy as do these six wealthy and powerful nations.

Sometimes, the United States and its allies do not agree. For example, in 1990, former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher lifted economic sanctions against South Africa after the government there released black political prisoners and allowed previously banned black nationalist organizations to operate legally. Portugal and Italy have called for all countries to remove their sanctions, and the European Community has promised to do so if reforms continue. However, the U.S. government has refused to remove trade restrictions against South Africa until the South African government makes further reforms.

The White House/Susan Biddle

U.S. allies and foreign policy

U.S. leaders often consult with their counterparts from other nations before making major foreign policy decisions. U.S. officials attempt to balance the wishes of allied countries and America's own needs.

The United States has also clashed with its European allies over economic aid to the Soviet Union. Germany, France, and Italy want the Europeans, Japanese, and Americans to coordinate a joint economic aid program to help the Soviet Union improve its industries. The United States has refused to send aid to the Soviet Union until the Soviet government adopts more economic reforms, stops sending aid to Cuba, and reduces military spending. Some U.S. lawmakers fear that aid would allow the Soviets to delay making needed economic reforms. Others believe that the aid would be wasted in an inefficient economy.

One of the most difficult situations for U.S. policymakers is when two allies come into conflict. In 1982, Great Britain and Argentina went to war over British control of the Falklands, a chain of islands in the South Atlantic. Most U.S. leaders favored supporting Great Britain because of the historically close ties between the two nations. Others said that the United States should back Argentina, which was aiding in the fight against communist movements in Central America. U.S. officials worked intensively for negotiations between the two nations to avoid a war, but such efforts failed. The American government strongly supported Great Britain in the war that followed, on the grounds that the British were defending their territory against invasion from the outside.

Seeking a Balance

American foreign policy is shaped by pressures and viewpoints from many different sources. At the center of foreign policy decisionmaking is the president. Presidents have their own views about how the United States should relate to the rest of the world. At the same time, members of Congress, government officials, lobby groups, the media, voters, and allied nations all have vital interests in how the United States acts in the world. All of these groups seek to influence foreign policy in the way that they think best satisfies both their own interests and the larger national interest. Presidents and their advisers must balance all competing forces and develop a foreign policy that will be beneficial to the United States as a whole.

Because of the competition among various groups, U.S. foreign policy is constantly changing. Different groups exert more influence at different times, pulling national goals and strategies first one way, then another. Presidential elections are held every four years, and a new president's opinions may be substantially different from his or her predecessor's. For these reasons, U.S. foreign policy is not always consistent from issue to issue, region to region, or president to president.

The White House

The White House

The White House

A newly elected president often develops his or her own initiatives for solving international problems. While the long-term goals of U.S. foreign policy—security, economic health, and the promotion of freedom and democracy—remain fairly constant, the means that an individual president uses to achieve those goals can change from administration to administration. For example:

• In the mid-1970s, President Jimmy Carter pledged to base his foreign policy on the principles of human rights. As part of that policy, Carter withheld military aid from nations that he believed violated the rights of citizens, including Argentina, Chile, and Ethiopia. When President Ronald Reagan was elected in November 1980, he reversed Carter's human rights policies, claiming that such policies represented "a moral crusade" rather than a protection of U.S. security interests.

• One of the cornerstones of President Reagan's foreign policy was the support of anticommunist forces around the world, a policy that came to be known as the "Reagan doctrine." During the last three years of his presidency, Reagan focused his attention on Nicaragua. Congress approved both military and nonlethal "humanitarian" aid for the *contra* rebels who were fighting the communist Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Soon after becoming president in 1989, George Bush changed U.S. policy in a new aid agreement negotiated with Congress. Under this agreement, the United States provided aid to feed and clothe the *contras* until Nicaraguan elections were held in 1990. However, the United States did not provide any military aid and agreed that the *contras* should disband and turn in their weapons after the elections.

Such fluctuations in U.S. foreign policy can make it difficult for other nations to deal with the United States. Leaders of other nations often view U.S. foreign policy as being unpredictable, especially from election to election. Sometimes, a foreign government will "wait out" a president with whom it has had trouble dealing in the hope that the next president will be more cooperative.

Americans, Europeans, and Soviets celebrated in the streets of their cities when the Grand Alliance proclaimed victory over Nazi Germany in 1945. Yet, that joy turned to disillusionment as the Soviet Union set up communist regimes in Eastern Europe while the United States helped to rebuild Western Europe. The world divided into two blocs: a communist bloc in the East and a democratic bloc in the West.

This split between East and West influenced international relations for the next 45 years. However, in the late 1980s, events in Europe began to heal the decades of East-West division and hostility. Suddenly, nations around the world were forced to develop new foreign policies to deal with these changes.

The East-West Split

Throughout history, wars have caused upheavals in the relations among nations. World War II is the classic example. During World War II, Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union put aside differences to defeat the advancing armies of German dictator Adolf Hitler. Nazi Germany threatened the very existence of these three nations. An uneasy alliance replaced the ideological separation of communism (the East) and capitalism (the West).

As the war drew to a close, however, ideological differences reemerged. Leaders from East and West harbored their own ideas about how Europe should be reconstructed. Cooperation dissolved as each side of the East-West conflict sought to protect and to extend its own influence.

Yalta and the Division of Europe

In February 1945, even before the war had ended, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, and Soviet General Secretary Josef Stalin met at Yalta, a Soviet resort, to discuss the rebuilding of Europe and the defeat of Japan.

At Yalta, the three leaders agreed that Germany and its capital, Berlin, were each to be divided into four occupation zones: the United States, Great Britain, and France were to occupy the western part of Germany, and the Soviet Union, the eastern part.

The task of liberating Eastern Europe from Nazi control was given to the Soviets because the Soviet Union's army was already firmly in position there. Stalin promised that free elections would be held in all liberated nations in Europe.

Finally, at Yalta, Stalin agreed to join Great Britain and the United States in their war against Japan after the defeat of Nazi Germany. The three leaders also agreed upon a framework for the United Nations.

However, Roosevelt and Churchill left Yalta unsure of Stalin's intentions toward Eastern Europe.

The Emergence of the Superpowers

After the defeat of Nazi Germany and Japan in World War II, the United States became the world's dominant power. The United States had the strongest military forces in the world and was the only nation with the atomic bomb. During the war, U.S. cities and factories were not destroyed and, therefore, did not have to be rebuilt. World War II had brought the Great Depression to an end, and the U.S. economy had benefited tremendously from the production of wartime materials. Hundreds of thousands of people had gone back to work to support the war effort.

Scientific and technological advances developed during the war could be used to create a higher standard of living. Improved communications and the beginnings of computer technology—vital for coordination of the war effort—could link nations together during peacetime. Airplanes developed to transport armed forces and materials could be used to carry people from one continent to another in a matter of hours. Modernized ships could carry more trade goods over longer distances. Advancements in agriculture—including the development of improved fertilizer, seeds, pesticides, and farm machinery—held the promise of growing more food more efficiently.

In contrast to the United States, World War II had devastated the Soviet countryside, and the Soviet Union lost more than twenty million people. Yet Soviet leaders emerged from the war eager to assume the role of a world power. The Soviet government was able to rebuild its economy by drawing on its vast natural resources and by confiscating factories in manufacturing centers in Eastern Europe. In addition, the Soviet Union left its huge army firmly entrenched in Eastern Europe.

The "Big Three" at Yalta

In 1945, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, and Soviet General Secretary Josef Stalin met at the Soviet resort of Yalta to discuss the makeup of the postwar world.

At the same time, the Soviet government escalated its efforts to build a nuclear arsenal of its own.

Although World War II had strained the resources of all nations, the vast resources of the United States and the Soviet Union enabled them to recover more quickly. No other nation in the world could rival the economic or military power of these two giants. The United States and the Soviet Union emerged from World War II as *superpowers*.

Yalta Defied: The Alliance Splits

Within a matter of weeks after the liberation of Eastern Europe from Nazi control, the Soviet Union established communist governments in Poland and Romania. Josef Stalin viewed Eastern Europe as vital to Soviet security. Having been attacked by the Germans twice in thirty years, Soviet leaders sought to set up a "buffer zone" separating Germany from the Soviet Union.

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U.S. Navy

The nuclear era begins

World War II ended with nuclear bombs exploding over the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Since then, five nations have openly developed and tested nuclear weapons.

By 1946, cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union was becoming impossible. Stalin continued his effort to consolidate control over Eastern Europe. The Soviet government launched a bitter propaganda campaign against the United States in which the United States and its allies were portrayed as enemies of the Soviet people.

President Truman watched Soviet expansion with frustration. Although Western leaders wanted to prevent the spread of communism and Soviet influence in Western Europe, no one wanted another war. At a speech delivered in Fulton, Missouri, Winston Churchill, with Truman at his side, declared, "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent."

The Cold War—a war fought with words, not bullets—had begun. Ideology, communism versus capitalism, would dominate international affairs for the next four decades.

The Truman Doctrine

In the years following the war, Europe suffered from a severe economic slump. There were shortages in food, housing, and jobs. Governments did not have the resources to provide people with the help they so desperately needed. In this charged political climate, communist parties—many of them active in wartime resistance movements—threatened to take control.

In 1947, communist and democratic factions in Greece and Turkey were involved in a civil war. Great Britain had been supporting the democratic forces in both nations, but could no longer afford to continue to sustain them. Fearing that a communist victory in either of these nations would lead to the eventual fall of other nations in Western Europe to communist control, President Truman stepped in.

Truman asked Congress to provide aid to Greece and Turkey in their fight against communism. In a speech before Congress, Truman asserted, "It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." This policy of granting aid to contain, or stop the spread of, communism came to be known as the *Truman Doctrine*. Congress granted $400 million in military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. This action marked a dramatic change in the way the United States perceived its national security.

The Marshall Plan

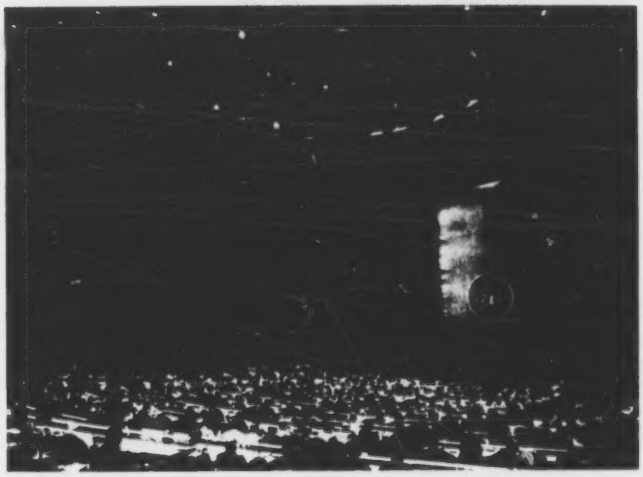
As part of the U.S. government's commitment to rebuilding Europe, the United States announced the Marshall Plan in 1948. This program provided loans and other types of economic assistance to aid European nations

The United Nations

In 1944, proposals for an international organization to ensure world peace were discussed by representatives from China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States at a conference in Washington, D.C. However, it was not until the spring of 1945 that representatives from fifty nations met in San Francisco to write a charter creating a new international forum. After two months of discussion, delegates unanimously approved the United Nations Charter on June 25, 1945.

The purpose of the United Nations is to:

- maintain international security and peace;
- develop friendly relations among nations;
- cooperate internationally in solving economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and
- provide a forum for nations to work to attain these common ends.



For many decades, the United Nations was criticized for its inability to resolve international problems. Critics said that the United Nations was slow to react to international crises and that many national leaders ignored UN recommendations. For example, seven years after war broke out between Iran and Iraq in 1980, the UN Security Council demanded that both nations declare a cease-fire. Iranian officials rejected the proposed cease-fire even before the resolution had been passed.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 gave the United Nations another opportunity to try to solve an international crisis. Almost every nation—including other Arab countries, China, and the Soviet Union—condemned Iraq's action. The UN Security Council ordered Iraq to leave Kuwait, instructed all countries to boycott Iraq, and allowed UN members with naval forces in the area to enforce the boycott. Many nations responded. The United States, Great Britain, and France sent warships to the Persian Gulf, and many of Iraq's neighbors closed their borders and oil pipelines with Iraq. Some observers believe that the improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations and the widespread condemnation of Iraq's invasion could increase the effectiveness of the United Nations.

in their economic recovery. In announcing the plan, Secretary of State George Marshall stated, "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

At first, the Soviets seemed interested in participating in the Marshall Plan, but when communists were ousted from power in Italy and France, the Soviets considered the Marshall Plan to be anticommunist. Nations in Eastern Europe, also initially interested, were angrily warned by Stalin not to participate. Instead, the Soviet Union and its satellites formed *Cominform* to coordinate the activities of the European communist parties, including those of France and Italy. The

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National Archives

The Berlin blockade

After the Soviet Union blockaded all land transportation into Berlin in 1948, the United States responded by airlifting millions of tons of food and coal into the city. The blockade was lifted the following year.

Soviet Council for Mutual Aid was also established to assist in the Eastern European recovery.

Through the Marshall Plan, the United States provided $12.5 billion in economic and military aid to Western Europe. By 1951, industrial output in Europe exceeded its 1938 rate by 40 percent. The Marshall Plan helped to reduce the power of communist parties in Western Europe by strengthening existing governments.

With the establishment of these two policy initiatives, the division of Europe became more pronounced. Western Europe became politically and economically connected to the United States, and Eastern Europe became politically and economically integrated with the Soviet Union.

Berlin and the Division of Germany

The Soviet government continued to feel threatened by Germany. Having been attacked by the Germans twice in thirty years, Soviet leaders wanted to prevent the restoration of German sovereignty and a resurgence of German military power. In addition, the presence of U.S. troops in West Berlin, located 120 miles inside East Germany, caused the Soviets concern. In 1948, the Soviet army blockaded all land transportation into Berlin. The United States responded by airlifting millions of tons of food and coal into the city.

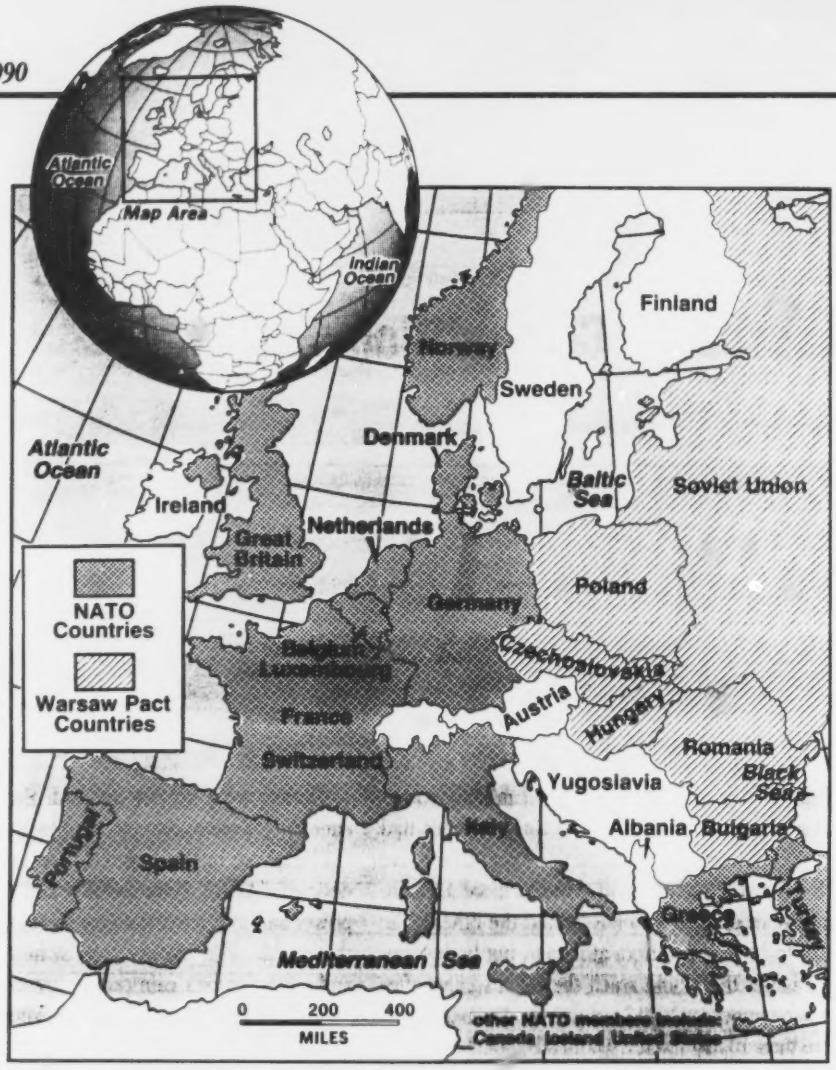
For a year, the two superpowers remained at a standstill over Berlin. The blockade ended through negotiations, but Germany remained divided. In July 1948, the United States announced the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany. In October, the Soviets declared East Germany to be the new German Democratic Republic. The division of Germany, and of Europe, was complete.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact

Fear of the Soviet army in Eastern Europe prompted the United States and the nations of Western Europe to discuss a regional defense agreement to deter Soviet aggression. In April 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established. Under the terms of the agreement, an attack on one member nation would be considered an attack against all. The initial NATO members were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United States. In 1952, Greece and Turkey joined; West Germany became the fifteenth member in 1955. Spain joined NATO in 1982.

The Warsaw Pact, a counteralliance to NATO, was formed in 1955. Eight Eastern European nations joined: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. (Albania left the Pact in 1968.)

The Division of Europe, 1990



Superpower Competition

By 1957, both superpowers possessed powerful military forces and an arsenal of nuclear weapons. The United States had approximately 2,000 nuclear bombs, while the Soviet Union had a few hundred. Both countries continued to develop more accurate and powerful weapons in an effort not to fall behind the other. The first nuclear bombs had to be dropped from airplanes, but both countries later developed missiles that could reach the other's cities after being launched from submarines or land-based silos. By 1989, both superpowers had more than 10,000 nuclear warheads, some of which were based in Europe, where the American and Soviet *spheres of influence* were clearly defined: the United States considered the nations of Western Europe its allies; the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe.

Elsewhere in the world, however, loyalties were not so clearly defined. As the United States and the Soviet Union competed for power and influence, the East-West conflict spilled into other areas of the world. The Soviets tried to help procommunist groups in Asia and Latin America gain power. American strategists sought to block Soviet moves in these areas, believing in the "domino theory," which held that if one country to communism, its neighbors would soon "fall" as well.

Competition in Asia

Competition between the Soviet Union and the United States began in Asia immediately after World War II. In China, Korea, and Southeast Asia, the superpowers supported opposing sides in regional conflicts.

China

Supported by the Soviet Union, Chinese communist leader Mao Zedong's forces were able to defeat the U.S.-supported nationalist forces of General Jiang Jieshi in 1949. The fall of China to communist rule deeply affected the United States. The United States perceived Mao's victory as an extension of Soviet influence in the Far East. The fear of further communist expansion in the Far East prompted a change in how the United States viewed Japan. Originally, U.S. officials wanted to prevent Japan from rearming after the war. But now, with Soviet influence spreading, American policymakers began to see the advantages of developing a strong American ally in the region. The United States and Japan signed a treaty granting full sovereignty and an agreement for stationing U.S. troops on Japanese soil.

Throughout the 1950s, the Soviet Union sent advisers and financial aid to China, and the two countries formed a powerful communist alliance. But conflicts arose over foreign policy, the location of the Sino-Soviet border, and the best way to implement communism. Relations deteriorated, and in 1960, the Soviets withdrew their advisers and cut off financial and technical aid. By the late 1960s, relations between the Soviet Union and China reached a warlike state, and the Chinese began to look toward the United States as a possible ally.

At the same time, China feared that the United States and the Soviet Union were moving toward friendlier relations. Chinese leaders believed that if the superpowers improved their ties, the United States would be less likely to side with China in the event of a Sino-Soviet war. Chinese leaders acted to head off any possible alliance between the superpowers by seeking friendlier relations with the United States. Chinese leaders invited President Richard Nixon to their country in 1971. Nixon's trip was the first official contact between the United States and China in more than thirty years. The two countries agreed to increase scientific, cultural, and commercial contacts, and liaison offices were opened in Beijing and Washington to handle business between the two governments. In 1979, President Jimmy Carter normalized relations with China. The two nations exchanged ambassadors, opened trade negotiations, and sought further cooperation in many fields.

Nixon in China

President Richard Nixon's historic trip to China in 1971 was the first official contact between the United States and the People's Republic of China since the communists came to power there in 1949.

Korea

During World War II, Korea was occupied by Japanese troops. At Yalta, Josef Stalin and Franklin Roosevelt agreed that Japanese troops would surrender to the United States in southern Korea and to the Soviet Union in the north. This temporary division of Korea became permanent when the Soviet Union refused to allow the United Nations to supervise national elections. The United States and the Soviet Union

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were unable to adopt a unification agreement, and each superpower formed a separate nation in the area of the country its troops controlled. Border skirmishes often broke out in the late 1940s between North and South. Finally, in 1950, the Soviets backed a North Korean invasion of South Korea. The United Nations sent troops to repel the invasion, with the United States providing the majority of these forces while communist China supplied soldiers to help North Korea. Although the war ended in a stalemate in 1953, the United States demonstrated that it would fight communist aggression around the world.

Southeast Asia

Like much of Asia, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia had been occupied by Japanese forces during World War II. When Japan surrendered, France tried to reassert authority over its three former colonies. In 1946, France granted autonomy to Laos and Cambodia, but the status of Vietnam was more difficult to solve. After the Japanese surrender, communist leader Ho Chi Minh proclaimed the independence of Vietnam. When negotiations between Ho and French leaders broke down in 1946, war began. After eight years of fierce fighting, the French finally surrendered in 1954, and a peace conference established a truce line temporarily dividing Vietnam until nationwide elections could be held. But these elections never took place. Instead, a new political regime proclaimed an independent state south of the truce line while Ho continued to lead a communist government in North Vietnam. Ho accepted aid from the Soviet Union, and the United States agreed to send aid to South Vietnam and to train its army. The United States also sponsored the establishment of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) to prevent communism from spreading to South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Soviets backed North Vietnam in its fight to unify all of Vietnam under communist rule. The United States helped defend South Vietnam with troops and military aid, eventually spending $146 billion and losing nearly 58,000 American lives. When the North Vietnamese moved troops into Laos and Cambodia to help in its war effort against South Vietnam, the United States began military assistance programs to these two countries as well.

But by 1968, when Richard Nixon became president, Americans were becoming increasingly disillusioned with the war as the cost in lives and aid grew with no end in sight. Peace negotiations to end the war were held in Paris, and an agreement was signed in 1973. The agreement called for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of U.S. troops. The United States ended its intervention, but the Vietnamese ignored the cease-fire. In 1975, the communists defeated South Vietnam, thereby extending Soviet influence in Southeast Asia. Communist takeovers also followed in Laos and Cambodia.

Competition in Latin America

The superpowers also competed for allies in Latin America, where communist groups have fought to take control of national governments. Many governments and rebel groups in the region have received economic and military aid from the United States and the Soviet Union.

Cuba

During the first half of this century, Cuba was almost a U.S. colony—the playground of America's rich. But most Cubans lived in extreme poverty. The government of pro-American dictator Fulgencio Batista, who ruled from 1952 to 1959, was harsh and corrupt, and set the stage for military strongman Fidel Castro's takeover in 1959. Leftists quickly came to dominate Castro's government, instituting a program of sweeping economic and social change. After the United States refused to recognize his new government, Castro turned to the Soviet Union for support. Cuba and the Soviet Union quickly became allies.

In October 1962, the East-West split almost led to nuclear confrontation. It was then that the United States discovered that the Soviet

Reuters, Reimann

Communism in Central America

Anti-Sandinista rebels—known as contras*—fought the Marxist government in Nicaragua for ten years. President Reagan persuaded Congress to support the rebels with military and nonlethal aid. He believed that the aid would help stop communism in Nicaragua and prevent communists from gaining control in other Central American countries.*

Union was secretly constructing launching pads for nuclear missiles in Cuba. For seven days, the world waited as President John Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev engaged in tense negotiations. Finally, the Soviets agreed not to station nuclear missiles in Cuba. Many people believed that the world came closer to nuclear war during the Cuban missile crisis than at any other time.

Central America

After Fidel Castro's takeover of Cuba in 1959, the United States began to supply military and economic aid to Central American nations to lessen the likelihood that they would support communist revolutions or radical political change in their countries. In the 1960s, President Kennedy created the Alliance for Progress, an economic aid program that provided funds for roads, schools, hospitals, and water projects. However, in the mid-1970s, the United States stopped aid to some of these countries because President Jimmy Carter accused their governments of human rights abuses. When Ronald Reagan became president in 1981, he again emphasized the U.S. policy of containing the spread of communism throughout the Western Hemisphere. He believed that the United States should strengthen its presence in the region and supply large amounts of economic and military aid to U.S. allies in Central America.

In the last years of his presidency, Reagan focused his attention on Nicaragua, where the communist Sandinistas controlled the government and received billions of dollars in economic and military aid from other communist nations, especially the Soviet Union. Reagan also believed that the Sandinistas supplied military aid to communist groups fighting in nearby Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. Cuban and Soviet leaders acknowledged that they were involved in Central America, but only in countries that requested aid or that were fighting for their freedom. Nevertheless, Reagan convinced Congress of the need to stop communist aggression at America's "back door."

During most of the 1980s, Congress approved millions of dollars in military and nonlethal "humanitarian" aid for forces, known as the *contras*, fighting the Sandinista government. At the same time, El Salvador also received U.S. economic and military aid to fight communist guerrillas. In addition, the United States built military bases in Honduras, using that country as a base for the *contras*, and established training centers for the Honduran army.

A New Global System?

For more than forty years, the East-West split and superpower competition in Europe, Asia, and Central America were the dominant factors determining international relations. The superpowers' efforts to increase their own spheres of influence affected countries on many continents. Few nations were able to act independently of the superpowers. However, events in the late 1980s eased the tensions between East and West. Faced with a weak economy, the Soviet Union began to restructure its government and economic system to encourage the production of more consumer goods for its citizens. Soviet leaders also sought improved relations with the West so that their government could spend less money on aid and defense programs and more on economic programs. The Soviet Union even allowed its allies in Eastern Europe to abandon communism for democratic governments. East and West Germany began making plans to become a single nation. In Central America, the Nicaraguan government agreed to a regional peace plan in which the *contra* forces would disband in exchange for democratic elections. Elections were held in 1990, and the U.S.-backed candidate, Violeta Chamorro, defeated Sandinistan president Daniel Ortega. Suddenly, the East-West rivalry appeared to become less important in international relations, and a new global system based on superpower *cooperation*, not *competition*, seemed on the horizon.

Changes in U.S.-Soviet Relations

In early 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became the fourth leader of the Soviet Union in three years. At that time, he began to restructure the Soviet economy because he believed that communism had failed to provide plentiful high-quality products for consumers. Gorbachev wanted to spend more money on factories, farms, and mines, but in order to increase spending on the economy, the Soviet Union had to spend less in other areas, such as foreign aid and defense. As a result, Gorbachev immediately began taking steps to improve relations with the United States. He proposed reopening arms control talks that the Soviets had left in protest of NATO's deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe in 1983. Gorbachev met with President Ronald Reagan five times in the next three years, expanding the areas of cooperation between their two countries. The two leaders agreed to renounce military superiority, expand cultural and educational ties, and openly discuss regional disputes with an eye toward peaceful settlements. In just a few years, the leaders of the superpowers were once again holding regular summit meetings, cooperating with each other, and working to reduce East-West tensions.

Novosti Press Agency

Mikhail Gorbachev

When Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985, he soon began to change the Soviet Union's economic and political systems, its foreign policy toward Eastern Europe, and its relations with the United States. Under his leadership, the Soviet Union has allowed its allies to abandon communism, withdrawn troops from Eastern Europe, and signed the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty with the United States.

Competition over weapons and military strength also weakened. In 1987, Reagan and Gorbachev signed the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, the first agreement to actually destroy weapons in the two nations' nuclear arsenals. They agreed to destroy all nuclear missiles based on the soil of their European allies. They also decided to cooperate with inspectors from the other country to verify compliance with the treaty. In 1989, Gorbachev further showed that the East-West split was becoming less significant by announcing that the Soviet Union would unilaterally remove some of its troops, tanks, guns, and combat planes from Eastern Europe. However, political events in this part of the world quickened the pace of the Soviet withdrawals.

Changes in Eastern Europe

In 1989, communist governments in many Eastern European countries collapsed when their citizens protested poor economic conditions and corrupt government officials. To the surprise of some observers in the West, the Soviet Union refrained from sending in troops to stop these popular revolutions, thus allowing its Eastern European allies to abandon communism and hold democratic elections. Bulgaria,

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The Berlin Wall

On the morning of August 13, 1961, the citizens of Berlin awoke to find East German soldiers unraveling barbed wire down the middle of the streets. Within a few days, the barrier of wire was replaced with a more permanent structure of brick and concrete. When it was completed, the 12-foot-high wall wound its way through the center of Berlin and became a grim reminder of the division of Germany into East and West.

The communist government of East Germany built the wall to prevent East Germans from emigrating to the West. For more than 25 years, the wall was a symbol of the deep ideological differences that separated democratic and communist governments.

In 1987, President Reagan challenged Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to "tear down this wall." Two years later, the East German government lifted restrictions on travel to west Germany. Germans from both countries celebrated by dancing on the wall and chipping away pieces for souvenirs. East and West German leaders then began negotiations to reunify their countries, and by 1990, the wall had been removed.

Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania all held elections in which noncommunist parties or newly reformed and renamed communist parties were successful.

Perhaps no nation symbolized the end of the East-West split better than Germany. After more than 200,000 East Germans left their country for West Germany, and thousands at home demonstrated for reform, East Germany's communist leaders resigned and promised to hold democratic elections. The abandonment of communism in East Germany raised the question of reunification with West Germany. The four victorious powers from World War II—France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States—as well as the two Germanys began reunification negotiations in May 1990. After the Soviet Union agreed to allow a united Germany to join NATO, the final barrier to reunification fell. The economies of the two countries were joined in July 1990 when East Germany adopted the West German *deutsche mark* as its currency. Political union followed on October 3.

In November 1990, the Soviet Union and all the nations of Eastern Europe except Albania signed the Charter of Paris, a treaty committing them to holding free elections on a regular basis and encouraging a market economy. This agreement was also signed by the nations of Western Europe, the United States, and Canada. Many of these countries also agreed to reduce the numbers of conventional weapons in Europe.

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Arms Control Agreements

From 1945 until 1949, the United States was the only nation with nuclear weapons. When the Soviet Union detonated its first atomic bomb in 1949, the arms race between the two countries began. In addition to stockpiling weapons, both sides sought to improve their nuclear forces by developing more powerful and accurate arms.

By the 1960s, U.S. and Soviet leaders realized that they had a responsibility to try to control the spiraling arms race. Leaders of both nations came to realize that preventing nuclear war was in the national interest of both nations. Both nations have since signed the following agreements:

- Limited Test Ban Treaty, 1963—Banned the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water. Also prohibited underground nuclear explosions if they produced radioactive debris beyond the borders of the nation conducting the test.

- "Hot Line" Agreement, 1963—Established a direct communications link between Washington, D.C., and Moscow in an attempt to lessen the danger of a war breaking out from a computer error or misunderstanding. The "hot line" was modernized in 1971 to include satellite communication.

- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I), 1972—Limited the number of nuclear weapons that the United States and the Soviet Union could *deploy*, or station. Also limited the number of antiballistic missile (ABM) sites (systems designed to destroy enemy missiles before they reach their targets).

- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II), 1979—Limited the number of (1) warheads on existing missiles, (2) bombers with long-range cruise missiles, (3) missiles with more than one nuclear warhead, and (4) missile launch vehicles. Also banned the testing or deploying of any new long-range missiles. Although the treaty was signed by U.S. and Soviet leaders, it was never approved by the U.S. Senate.

- Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF), 1987—Banned all U.S. and Soviet land-based missiles in Europe. The treaty also provided for extensive onsite inspection of missile sites to verify compliance.

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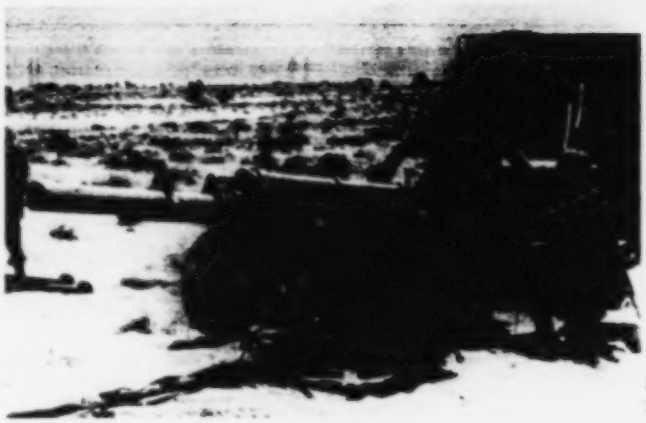
The New Era

In 1945, people all over the world celebrated the end of World War II and looked forward to the peace a new era was bound to bring. But that peace never came as the former allies—mainly the Soviet Union and the United States—disagreed over the future of Europe and eventually began to compete for influence in other areas of the world.

Now in the 1990s, some observers believe that another "new era" has begun. They see the changes in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe as evidence that the Cold War has ended. Americans now talk of bringing troops and weapons home from their bases in Europe. Politicians in the United States debate how to spend the "peace dividend"—the money the government would save from reducing the defense budget. The Soviet Union and the United States are even cooperating in the United Nations to try to bring peaceful solutions to conflicts in Afghanistan, the Middle East, Namibia, and Cambodia. The tension between the world's two military giants is lessening as their governments are cooperating, rather than competing, with each other. Instead of building up weapons and troops in Europe, they are seeking to reduce them. Instead of competing for allies in the Third World, the superpowers are now working together to help solve regional conflicts. Just as at the end of World War II, people around the world hope that recent changes will mean a peaceful future. But international relations are impossible to predict.

In August 1990, the superpowers were faced with a new conflict—an invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein sent troops to neighboring Kuwait and took over the country. In the United Nations, the Soviet Union, the United States, and the other members of the Security Council voted 13-0 to condemn the invasion and punished Iraq by instituting an economic blockade to prevent it from selling its oil in world markets. The Soviet Union cut off weapons sales to Iraq, which had relied heavily on Soviet supplies for its army and air force. The Persian Gulf situation postponed American hopes for lower defense spending and a more peaceful future. President Bush ordered U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia to help defend that country from Iraqi attack and to protect its oil fields. Twenty-seven other nations also sent ships, aircraft, or troops to the Persian Gulf. The Security Council authorized these troops to use "all necessary means" to free Kuwait from Iraqi control after January 15, 1991. Iraq did not withdraw its troops by the UN deadline, and on January 16, American, British, Saudi, and Kuwaiti air forces began to bomb Iraqi military targets.

The Persian Gulf War is the first major international crisis since the improvement of U.S.-Soviet relations and the closing of the East-West split. How the superpowers and other nations work together to solve the problems in the Gulf may determine if the world has indeed entered a new era of cooperation.



Iraq invades Kuwait

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was the first major foreign policy crisis since the decline in East-West hostility. The United States sent troops to protect Iraq's neighbor, Saudi Arabia, and cooperated with the Soviet Union in the United Nations to condemn the invasion and to impose economic sanctions against Iraq.

The international system of the 1990s promises to be very different from that of the 45-year period following World War II. The Cold War period of 1945-1990 was defined by the East-West split that dominated world affairs. However, bitter competition between the United States and the Soviet Union has decreased, and the superpowers are working together to solve conflicts, often through the United Nations. The division of Europe is fading as the countries of Eastern Europe abandon communist systems and hold multiparty elections. East and West Germany have formed a single democratic country, and the Berlin Wall is a part of history. Citizens and leaders in many nations hope for a new world in which all nations can coexist peacefully.

Military Buildups

After World War II, when the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as superpowers, both nations developed new and deadlier weapons, including huge nuclear forces. Later, other nations also developed nuclear weapons or became capable of building them. In addition, the superpowers equipped their allies in Europe with both nuclear and conventional (non-nuclear) weapons and sold arms to countries around the world. These sales gave sophisticated, high-tech arms to some nations that had conflicts with their neighbors. Often, these neighbors sought to match the new weapons with arms purchases of their own, leading to a global arms race. The result of these military buildups is that today many countries own powerful weapons to not only defend themselves but to attack others as well. The global arms race has meant that about thirty wars between and within nations are still being fought. These armed conflicts range from a twelve-year civil war in El Salvador to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. Many of the weapons on these battlefields came from the superpowers, which allowed their own arms race to spill over to other countries.

The Superpowers' Arms Race

At the end of World War II, only the United States had atomic bombs, and the only way to use those weapons was to drop them from airplanes. This situation soon changed. By 1949, the Soviet Union had tested its first atomic bombs, and three years later, Great Britain, too, had "the bomb." The nuclear arms race had begun.

Technological improvements allowed the superpowers and their allies to develop more powerful and more accurate weapons. The superpowers discovered ways to shoot nuclear weapons from land-based missiles and from submarines. Sophisticated radar systems

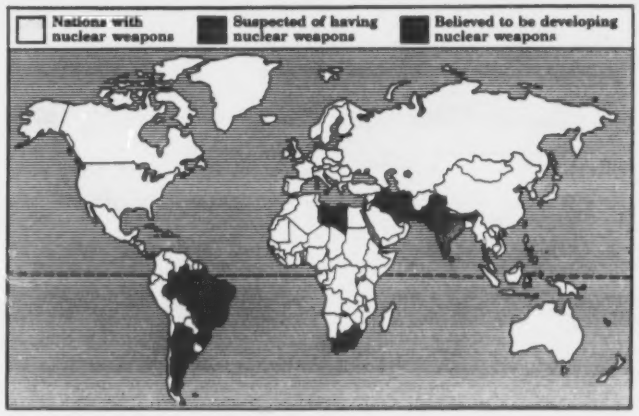
enabled missiles to fly across thousands of miles through adverse weather and even skim the terrain to reach their intended targets within a few feet. By 1960, the superpowers had more than 4,000 warheads aimed at each other.

Since the 1960s, the United States and the Soviet Union have pursued a strategy called *nuclear deterrence*. Under this strategy, neither nation could launch a nuclear attack without being destroyed by the other. Deterrence requires each nation to have enough nuclear weapons to survive an attack and still destroy the enemy. This strategy helped to fuel the arms race because if one nation improved its weapons, the other was obliged to match that improvement to maintain an equal balance. Today, both superpowers have about 10,000 nuclear warheads on long-range, land-based missiles, submarines, bombers, and short-range missiles.

For the past thirty years, U.S. and Soviet leaders have tried to control the arms race through negotiated treaties. They have succeeded in banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in space, and under water, limiting the number of nuclear weapons each nation can station, restricting the number of systems designed to destroy enemy missiles before they reach their targets, and banning intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. They are currently trying to reduce each side's arsenal to 6,000 warheads through the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START). Yet, despite these reductions, each nation continues to spend money to research, design, and produce more weapons and to keep existing ones usable.

In addition to nuclear weapons, the superpowers conducted their arms race on the ground by stationing troops and military equipment in Europe to protect their allies there. The United States maintained a force of 305,000 troops, 24,000 tanks, and other equipment to protect Western Europe from an attack by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union kept 375,000 soldiers with 39,000 tanks and thousands of guns in the countries along its borders to repel any attacks from the West. However, since the overthrow of communist governments in Europe in 1989, the need for large armies in Europe has disappeared. The Soviet Union has already withdrawn more than 12,000 troops from Eastern Europe. Thousands of weapons for soldiers of the two rival alliances in Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact, are being removed under a treaty signed in 1990, which limits the number of tanks, guns, armored vehicles, helicopters, and aircraft that they will maintain in Europe.

The Spread of Nuclear Weapons



Even with these withdrawals, many weapons and troops will remain in Europe. For example, planned U.S. troop withdrawals will still leave more than 200,000 American soldiers in Europe by the end of 1991. The thaw in the Cold War has not eliminated each nation's perception of the need to defend itself from a possible attack by the other, in Europe or elsewhere. Defense remains a large part of both nations' budgets, and each government continues to research and develop new weapons.

Nuclear Proliferation

The Soviet Union and the United States are not the only nations to possess nuclear arsenals. As mentioned, in 1952, Great Britain explod-

Energy or bombs?

The fuel from nuclear reactors—designed to produce electricity—can be diverted to reprocessing plants to make nuclear bombs. Many experts believe that once a country has a nuclear reactor, it is on its first step toward building nuclear weapons.

ed its first nuclear device, followed in the early 1960s by France and China. In 1974, India exploded a nuclear bomb for what it called "peaceful purposes." Some experts suspect that Israel may already possess a nuclear arsenal of up to 100 warheads, and some believe that South Africa and Pakistan are also capable of building nuclear weapons.

Faced with the possibility of nuclear weapons spreading throughout the world, the United States and other nations have tried to limit who possesses nuclear technology. In 1953, the United States designed a program to promote the peaceful uses of nuclear technology in such areas as energy production and medical research. Sponsored through the United Nations, the program, called "Atoms for Peace," forbade participating nations from using nuclear technology to make weapons. Although thirty nations agreed to the terms of this program, both France and China independently developed atomic bombs in the 1960s, so this attempt was judged to be ineffective and was ceased.

The next attempt to stop the spread of nuclear weapons was the Treaty of Tlatelolco in 1967. The purpose of the treaty was to make Latin America a "nuclear-free zone." Individual Latin American countries agreed not to test, manufacture, or acquire nuclear weapons. Cuba and Argentina have not officially ratified the treaty, and Chile and Brazil are not abiding by the treaty because of the holdouts. However, in 1990, Brazil and Argentina signed an agreement pledging not to pursue nuclear weapons and to allow inspectors from the other country to examine their nuclear facilities.

In 1968, a worldwide nuclear nonproliferation treaty was signed. The General Assembly of the United Nations approved the treaty, which intended to halt the spread of nuclear weapons and promote peaceful uses of nuclear power. Although 139 nations have signed the treaty, key countries such as Argentina, Brazil, China, France, India, Israel, Pakistan, and South Africa have not. The treaty will expire in 1995 if it is not renewed by the nations that have signed it.

Despite these efforts by the international community to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, experts predict that in the 1990s, at least fifty nations have or will have the capacity to develop and deliver a nuclear bomb. The problem with trying to regulate nuclear weapons on an international scale is that many countries believe that these weapons will improve their national security. Faced with larger, stronger, and sometimes nuclear-armed adversaries, many countries believe that possession of a nuclear weapon will protect them against attack. Nations already involved in armed conflicts may believe that nuclear weapons can tip the balance of power in their favor. They may also desire the power and prestige that come from developing a nuclear arsenal.

As more nations join the nuclear "club," the danger that these powerful weapons will be used may increase. Or, the weapons may create

rivalries similar to the U.S.-Soviet relationship, in which the nuclear forces of each nation deter the other from attacking. However, governments may resort to these weapons unless alternatives to armed conflict are found to resolve international disputes.

Arms Sales

During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union sold their allies *conventional*, or non-nuclear, weapons such as tanks and high-tech missiles fired from hand-held launchers. Often the superpower's governments provided special financing deals to help others buy their weapons. Most of these weapons went to developed countries, usually those in NATO or the Warsaw Pact. But in the late 1960s, both superpowers began to send more weapons to the poorer countries in the developing world. The superpowers used arms sales to compete for allies in the Third World, replace lower levels of economic aid, and transfer technology to friendly nations. Many weapons went to the volatile Middle East. Later, arms sales were made to countries in Africa and Latin America. Other major weapons producers, including China, France, and Great Britain, also sell weapons to other nations. The result is that more nations today own sophisticated fighter aircraft, tanks, guns, and missiles that are capable of carrying nuclear or chemical weapons, weapons that are largely uncontrolled by international agreements. Another result is that many engineers in developing countries have adapted these weapons to make them more powerful or more accurate and are even beginning to produce their own versions of the weapons and selling them to other countries. By 1984, twenty-four developing nations were producing weapons in an effort to reduce their dependence on arms from other nations. Many of these nations sell some of their weapons to offset the high costs of developing and producing their arms industries. Some policymakers fear that this worldwide increase in weapons sales means a greater risk of war.

Some arms purchasers are involved in regional conflicts. Yet, without the continual supply of weapons, they would have lost the means to fight years ago. For example, during the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s, China supplied arms to Iran while the Soviet Union sold weapons to Iraq. Without the weapons, Iran and Iraq may have been unable to arm their troops for eight years, forcing them to reach a peace settlement earlier. Saudi Arabia, facing war with Iraq, was the largest arms purchaser in 1989. The second largest purchaser was Afghanistan, which bought Soviet weapons to defeat government rebels.

Arms sales allow weapons-producing countries to make money and to sell equipment its own forces no longer need. Sales also help to generate goodwill with the purchasing nations. However, these weapons may lead their purchasers to fight wars instead of seeking other ways to solve problems. In addition, three-quarters of the purchasers are Third World nations, and some of them are struggling with large debts, weak governments, and poor economies.

Arms Sales

The military forces of many nations have sophisticated planes, tanks, guns, and missiles that were purchased from the United States and other weapons producers. These sales can create goodwill with the purchasing nations and offset the high costs of developing high-technology weapons. Here, U.S. Marines teach Saudi Arabian troops to use American antitank missiles.

The Emergence of the Third World

The international system that evolved after World War II was dominated by the two superpowers, but for most of the world's people, economic development was more important than superpower rivalry. Prior to the war, most of the world was controlled by European colonial powers, including France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain.

The concept of a "Third World" came from French writer Alfred Sauvy, who first used the term in 1952 to describe nations breaking away from their colonial origins. The "First World," according to this concept, is composed of the Western democracies. The term "Second World" was used to describe the communist nations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Some analysts, seeking to simplify this concept, refer to the North (the industrialized nations) and the South (the underdeveloped nations). Although these terms oversimplify the issue, they do convey the sense of two worlds in different stages of economic development.

Self-Determination in the Postwar Era

In August 1941, Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt met to discuss a common defense against German and Japanese aggression. As part of these talks, the two leaders also issued their plan for world peace, which came to be known as the Atlantic Charter. In the Atlantic Charter, Churchill and Roosevelt deplored European colonization of other countries and affirmed the right of *self-determination*, that is, the right of all people to choose their own form of government. The concept of self-determination became a guiding force in the postwar era.

In 1945, only four African nations were independent: Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa. The rest of Africa was ruled by foreign powers. Much of Asia—including Burma, Ceylon, India, and Nepal—was ruled by Britain. Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands maintained colonies in South America and the Caribbean.

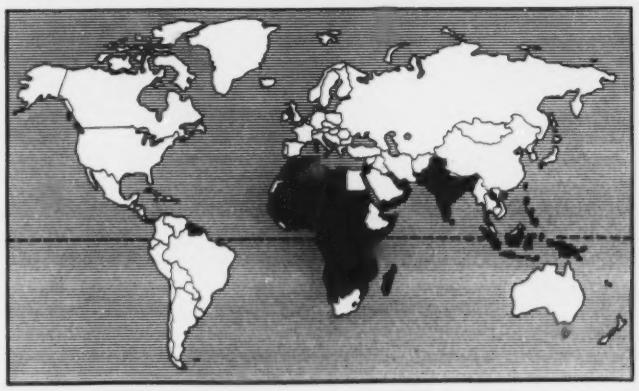
With the creation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, the movement toward liberation from colonial powers began. A special office of the United Nations, the Trusteeship Council, was created to assist colonies in their transition from colony to independent nation.

Some colonies were granted independence immediately after the war. However, not all colonial powers were willing to give up their territories so easily. For example, Portugal refused to let go of its colonies until the 1970s. Wars of liberation were fought to end colonial rule in many nations. Since 1945, more than seventy-five nations have become independent.

But independence did not solve the problems of the former colonies. In many of the new nations, people did not necessarily share a common history, common culture, or common language. Their borders had been determined by colonial powers. Civil wars often erupted as different factions vied for control.

The superpowers saw in these new nations an opportunity to extend their influence. Many of the nations controlled strategic minerals or vital resources. The United States and the Soviet Union became involved in civil wars in emerging nations including Korea, Vietnam, Angola, and Nicaragua. The Soviet Union aided communist factions, while the United States aided anticommunist factions. However, as the Cold War began to thaw in the 1980s, the superpowers withdrew from military conflicts in the Third World. In some cases, such as Angola and Cambodia, they worked to find peaceful solutions to political problems, while in others, the United States and the Soviet Union increased their use of economic and technological aid to battle the enormous social problems facing many developing nations.

Nations That Have Achieved Independence Since 1945



Conditions in the South

More than 1 billion people live in conditions unimaginable to most Americans. In developing countries, most roads are unpaved. Few villages have plumbing and electricity. Farming is still done with the most basic tools and techniques, and there is little industry. Health standards are very low, leading to a short life span, rampant disease, and a high rate of infant mortality. Often more than 50 percent of the population cannot read or write. In most countries, land and income are unequally distributed. Average incomes in Third World countries are often less than $400 per year, although a small percentage of people enjoy considerable wealth.

The poor are also hungry. Despite advances in agricultural technology and years of international aid programs, there are more starving and malnourished people today than ever before. According to population experts, 20 million people suffer from *undernourishment* (a lack of protein and calories) or *malnutrition* (a lack of proper nutrients), and 40,000 die every day from hunger-related diseases. In the 1950s, one out of every fifteen people in the world suffered from malnutrition;

UN Photo 164599/John Isaac

Living in the Third World

More than 1 billion people live in developing countries. Roads are often unpaved, plumbing and electricity are scarce, proper health care is virtually nonexistent, and food supplies are inadequate.

today that rate has increased, largely because of the continuing growth of the world population.

During the 1980s, problems in much of the Third World continued with the world's poorest nations suffering from increased poverty, declining literacy, worsening health conditions, and generally lower living standards. Since 1984, many nations in Africa have suffered from drought and famine. Some experts predict that poverty in Africa will continue to increase for years to come.

The South has remained poor in part because of the traditional pattern of world trade. Historically, the South has exported raw materials and cash crops to the North, and the North in turn has exported manufactured products and technology to the South. This pattern has favored the North because, in general, the prices of raw materials and food have increased more slowly than have those of manufactured products and technology.

Foreign Aid

Each year the industrialized nations send billions of dollars to poor developing countries. In 1989, foreign assistance to developing countries totaled $51 billion. This aid provides food for the hungry, medicine for the sick, and education for the young. Foreign aid also helps developing countries defend themselves. Military aid helps Third World nations buy weapons, train soldiers, and build factories so they can manufacture their own military supplies. Industrialized countries have historically given aid to developing countries that are strategically important or have similar ideologies.

With the end of the East-West split, western nations began to send aid to the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe to help those nations rebuild their economies as well. Many Third World leaders fear that increased aid to Eastern Europe will mean less aid for their countries. They worry that Western banks are more willing to lend money to Eastern Europe where industrial development is more advanced and greater profits seem likely. Some Third World leaders claim that as Eastern Europe grows wealthier with help from Western aid, the North will continue to get richer while the South gets poorer.

Third World Debt

During the early 1970s, many developing countries borrowed huge sums of money from American and European banks to finance industrial development. Banks were willing to lend the money because the world economy was growing, and they expected Third World nations to repay their debts with profits from exports. However, when most of the world experienced an economic slowdown in the late 1970s, many undeveloped nations could not repay their loans. The slowdown, or recession, was caused in part by rising energy prices. Because most companies rely on energy to run their factories and transport their

goods to stores, they passed the rise in energy costs to their customers in the form of higher prices. The result was *inflation*, a continuing rise in prices for goods and services. Governments tried to control inflation by raising interest rates (the price one must pay to borrow money). Because most of the developing countries' loans had fluctuating interest rates, the cost of their loan payments suddenly increased. At the same time, these countries were earning less money from exports because the recession caused industrialized countries to buy fewer goods overall, including products from the Third World. Third World debtors were then faced with larger loan payments and less money to pay them. In some cases, Third World countries were sending more money to industrialized countries through loan repayments than they were receiving in new loans.

In 1987, Brazil—the largest debtor nation in Latin America—announced that it could no longer pay the interest on its $108 billion debt. Other countries, including Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, the Philippines, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia, face similar difficulties. Third World countries now owe foreign banks $1.3 trillion, twice as much as they owed in 1982. A default by a Third World country on a major loan could mean that commercial banks will suffer billions of dollars in losses. Since 1982, many banks have set aside larger amounts of money to protect themselves in case some of their loans to the Third World are never repaid. These reserves reduce the amount of money banks are able to loan and invest at home. The result is lower earnings for banks and lower profits for U.S. companies, which could use the reserve money to buy improved equipment for their businesses.

Third World nations are urging their Western bankers to voluntarily reduce their loan and interest payments and forgive some of the debt. They would also like banks to lend them new money to help build their economies. Several Western banks have loaned Third World countries enough money to allow them to make their interest payments on time, but other bankers are reluctant to make new loans while the old ones go unpaid. These bankers argue that Third World nations should repay their loans. They believe that developing nations could pay off their debts if they changed their economies by making companies less dependent on government help, controlling inflation, and letting the market, not government officials, set prices.

Industrialization: cure or curse?

Leaders of Third World nations often see industrialization as the cure to poverty. However, many nations cannot pay off the massive loans needed to finance industrial development and have fallen deeply into debt.

The countries of the Third World face many problems. They are plagued by reductions in foreign aid, continuing poverty, increasing populations, and growing debts that may go unpaid. In a world where the economic health of all nations is intertwined—a concept known as *interdependence*—the developed countries will be affected by the fate of the Third World. Likewise, the fate of many Third World nations may depend on the economic policies made by the United States and other developed nations.

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International Trade

Trade has been going on for thousands of years. Even when their standard of living was primitive enough not to require international trade, people still sought spices, textiles, and minerals that could enhance the quality of their lives.

Today, few nations can satisfy all of their people's needs—or desires—with the resources available within their own borders. Thus, international trade is a way for a nation to obtain goods that would be uneconomical or impossible for that nation to produce. World trade is also an important way for a nation to increase its supply of money and jobs. Through trade, the economies of nations grow faster than they would if all goods and services were produced for just their people.

Encouraging World Trade

In the past four decades, leaders of the international community have come to recognize that the health of one nation's economy can affect the health of economies of other nations. To encourage world trade, leaders meet periodically to discuss economic issues and negotiate agreements on the conduct of trade. They recognize that it is in the interest of all nations to promote a stable world economy.

Bretton Woods Conference

Toward the end of World War II, world leaders began to develop the international economic system that exists today. In 1944, forty-four

Western nations met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to create a new monetary system. Under the system developed there, exchange rates between foreign currencies were *fixed* against the value of the American dollar. In 1971, the Bretton Woods system was reformed into a *floating* exchange system in which the value of currencies relative to one another are free to change daily. In a floating exchange system, the value of a country's currency reflects the health of its economy. Adopting guidelines on currency exchange rates helps to stabilize international trade.

The forty-four countries that participated in the Bretton Woods Conference also agreed to establish the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The major purpose of the IMF is to lend money to nations in need of financial assistance. The IMF now has 148 member countries.

The Bretton Woods Conference proposed the creation of another organization, the World Bank, to assist in financing postwar reconstruction projects and to support less developed nations in their search for credit. Money for loans was to come either from private sources or from the World Bank itself.

GATT

In 1947, shortly after establishing the Bretton Woods system, eighty-three nations signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which set a code of conduct for trading nations. GATT provides an international forum for representatives from many nations to discuss trade issues such as tariffs, quotas, and other forms of economic protectionism.

GATT negotiations are held periodically to reduce tariffs, quotas, and other trade restrictions worldwide. GATT members agree that any trade advantage given to one nation must be given to all. For example, if the United States reduces a tariff for Australian lamb imports, it must charge other lamb-exporting nations the same lower rate. Traditionally, after GATT negotiation rounds, tariffs worldwide drop because GATT members reduce their tariffs for all other nations.

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)

Not all nations in the Third World are poor. In 1960, thirteen oil-producing nations formed the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries—or OPEC—to begin exerting control over the price and supply of oil in the world market. In one 12-month period, the price of a barrel of oil quadrupled from $3 in 1973 to more than $12 in 1974. Because OPEC nations control about two-thirds of the world's oil reserves, they were able to capitalize on an increase in demand from industrialized nations.

For the most part, OPEC has brought success to member nations. Nearly all members have benefited from the influx of "petro-dollars" into their national treasuries. Most OPEC leaders have used the funds to finance industrial and public works projects, improve educational and health care facilities, and invest in overseas real-estate and business ventures.

Economic Summits

In 1975, the leaders of the seven leading noncommunist countries (Canada, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the United States, and West Germany) met for an economic summit to coordinate policies and seek solutions to common problems. The economic summit has since become an annual event. Over the years, the leaders of these seven nations have sought to protect their manufacturing industries against increasing foreign competition.

An interdependent world economy

Traders on the floor of the Tokyo Stock Exchange jostle one another to sell off stocks in reaction to a plunge in prices on Wall Street. In an interdependent world economy, the economic health of one nation is intertwined with many others.

Special Trade Agreements

There are exceptions to GATT rules, and some nations use them to negotiate special trade arrangements. Such agreements increase trade among the nations involved, although other nations may still face tariffs and quotas. For example, in 1957, nations in Western Europe formed the European Economic Community (EC) to improve their economies. EC nations trade goods and services among themselves with few or no tariffs. By the end of 1992, EC members will create a single market where money and goods will cross borders freely. The United States and Canada signed a similar trade agreement in 1987 that will eliminate all tariffs between the two countries by 1999.

Other recent trade agreements include one signed by U.S. and Japanese representatives in 1990 to reduce the U.S. trade deficit with Japan. The agreement calls for increasing the sale of U.S. products to Japan and decreasing Japanese sales in the United States. According to its terms, Japan promises to make it easier for Americans to sell products in Japan and invest in Japanese businesses. Japanese officials also agree to spend more money on transportation and communications services, allowing U.S. companies to compete for business in these areas. For its part, the United States agrees to shrink its budget deficit, which many economists say increases the trade deficit. The U.S. government also agrees to encourage U.S. exports by spending more money on education to make U.S. students more capable workers and by offering incentives for individuals to save more money. Savings allow banks to loan businesses money to invest in better equipment, which, in turn, allows them to produce better products. In the past, the poor quality of American products was seen as a barrier to increasing U.S. sales in Japan. In previous agreements, the Japanese government had agreed to allow more imports of American beef, oranges, and telephone equipment while reducing its exports of steel, automobiles, and computer chips to the United States.

Special trade agreements often help the nations that sign them. They can increase trade, open up formerly closed markets, and restrict imports to help struggling industries at home. Although trade agreements generally help to encourage world trade, some leaders believe that they undermine GATT because they give special trade privileges to some nations without lowering trade barriers overall. Some nations, including poorer developing countries, claim that special trade agreements harm their nations' industries by forcing them to pay higher tariffs than nations that have negotiated special agreements outside of the GATT.

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Free Trade Versus Protectionism

The economic landscape has changed considerably in the last twenty years. The United States and Western Europe, once considered the economic giants of the world, are increasingly challenged by nations that were once considered noncompetitive, such as Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan. Manufacturing industries in these nations are now threatening the livelihood of the same industries in the West. A conflict has arisen between those nations that support free trade—as established by Bretton Woods, GATT, and other international accords—and those nations that believe that their domestic industries should be protected, even if it means imposing tariffs, quotas, or other trade barriers.

Nations that support free trade, or trade without restrictions, believe that consumer demand, rather than government regulation, should determine which products are sold in a country and at what price. Supporters of free trade argue that restrictions on trade—such as tariffs and quotas—can cause the price of imported goods to increase. In the early 1980s, for example, when the United States and Japan agreed to restrict the number of Japanese-made automobiles that could be imported, the price of those cars rose dramatically. Such price increases reflect government interference, rather than consumer demand, which alone should determine the price of goods and services. However, for free trade to operate fairly, all nations need to abide by the same rules.

Protectionists believe that a nation's primary responsibility is to protect its domestic industries from foreign competition. Protectionists view tariffs, quotas, and other trade barriers as necessary tools to limit the number of foreign goods that enter a country so that consumer demand for domestic goods increases and thereby keeps domestic industries fully employed. Protectionists believe that government regulation can preserve jobs in domestic industries, thereby protecting economic stability. In recent years, Japan has been severely criticized for its strict protectionist policies, which prevent many foreign-made products from entering the country.

U.S.-Soviet trade

Trade can be an essential part of a nation's foreign policy. Recently, increased trade between the United States and the Soviet Union has helped reduce the likelihood of military conflict while bringing many American goods—such as McDonald's hamburgers—to the Soviet Union.

Trade and Foreign Policy

Trade can be an essential part of a nation's foreign policy. Nations use trade to promote domestic economic growth, but they can also use trade as a tool to attain a foreign policy goal. For example, trade was a key element of *detente*, the goal of which was to ease tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. President Richard Nixon believed that an increase in trade between the superpowers would increase their sense of interdependence, and thereby decrease the likelihood of military conflict.

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Trade can also be used to influence a nation to change a policy. For example, many nations imposed trade sanctions against Iraq in an attempt to get that country to withdraw its soldiers from Kuwait and restore power to the Kuwaiti government that it overthrew.

Protectionist trade barriers can create ill will between nations. The imposition of tariffs and quotas by one nation can lead to retaliation by another. In today's world, however, assuring the economic well-being of other nations is within the national interest of most other countries. Economic well-being is usually associated with political stability, and a politically stable nation is a more predictable trading partner. Generally, the more nations trade with one another, the greater the chance that they will try to avoid conflict in other areas.

As global trade has increased, so has the potential for conflict. Political allies can have serious trade disputes with one another. For example, relations between the United States and its allies in Europe and Japan are generally good. However, in recent years, the United States has disputed agricultural trade with the European Community and has threatened to raise tariffs and quotas on Japanese imports because of the low level of U.S. goods imported by Japan. Although these conflicts do arise, nations can negotiate agreements to regulate worldwide trade and advance their national interests.

The Environment

Unlike the problems of militarization, the Third World, and international trade, the environment has offered nations the chance to cooperate, and many countries are taking advantage of the opportunity. Since pollution in one country can affect many others, the environment has become a global issue, requiring international cooperation. Efforts to clean up the environment will require the cooperation of many countries to be effective. Most solutions to environmental problems involve tremendous cost to the polluting nation's businesses or consumers. Governments will be unwilling to make their people pay for environmental cleanups if other nations are not making similar sacrifices. Otherwise, foreign businesses with few environmental restrictions will be able to sell their goods for less—and make larger profits—than domestic businesses that are paying taxes to limit pollution.

Today, all countries are threatened by pollution created in other nations. Many environmentalists argue that a nation's security needs to take into account threats from environmental causes as well as military and economic threats from other countries. They claim that pollution, global warming, deforestation, and ozone depletion could threaten world peace and stability even more than military strength.

No nation can close its borders to its neighbors' pollution. For example, in 1986, the Soviet nuclear power plant at Chernobyl exploded, releasing radioactive fallout that was carried by the wind across most of Europe, contaminating European dairy herds and farmland. Sulfur

Polluting the air

Industrial development has brought pollution to many areas of the world. The world's air contains many pollutants, some of which may change global climate patterns, harm human health, and destroy the protective ozone layer in the atmosphere.

emissions from U.S. smokestacks cause acid rain, which pollutes Canadian lakes, killing fish and threatening the survival of many Canadian fishermen. Fires in Brazil's tropical forests cause carbon dioxide to be released into the atmosphere, which some scientists believe may change climate patterns, causing droughts and floods, ruining agriculture, and forcing people to leave their homes in search of food and water. The care, housing, and education of these refugees could overwhelm other nations if they are unable to provide adequate food, shelter, and medical care for the new arrivals. Environmentalists also cite other potential problems including international disputes over shrinking natural resources such as water, forests, and fisheries. They fear that nations could go to war to provide their citizens with drinking water, food, or energy sources such as timber, coal, or oil.

Throughout the last ten years, environmental problems have become an important aspect of international relations. Several countries have negotiated agreements to reduce pollution worldwide and have joined together to find solutions to the most pressing environmental problems including acid rain, global warming, deforestation, and ozone depletion.

Acid Rain

Many countries today are fighting the effects of highly acidic rainfall. Although the causes of acid rain are in dispute, most scientists believe that it is the result of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxide (released by coal-burning power plants, factories, and automobiles) being transformed into sulfate and nitrate. When combined with moisture in the air, sulfates and nitrates become acids and fall to the earth as acid rain. Acid rain increases the acidity of soil, streams, and lakes, making them less hospitable for plants and animals. It also corrodes metal, discolors paint, and deteriorates stone, forcing governments, businesses, and private citizens to accelerate plans for renovating and replacing bridges, buildings, and even statues.

The effects of acid rain can be seen worldwide. In Europe, where coal long has been a major source of energy, forests are withering, and hundreds of lakes in Scandinavia are so acidic that they can no longer support fish. Acid rain also afflicts the northeastern region of the United States and Canada, where politicians and environmentalists

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complain that much of the acid rain in the area results from sulfur emissions coming from U.S. factories. Great Britain and Sweden are also affected by acid rain pollution originating in Eastern Europe.

One way nations can reduce acid rain is by lowering sulfur emissions. In 1984, nine European countries and Canada established the "30% club" to reduce their sulfur emissions by 30 percent over ten years. Bulgaria and the Soviet Union joined later. Although the United States was not willing to join, American representatives have held negotiations with Canadian officials to reduce the tensions caused by acid rain pollution crossing their common border. U.S. environmental laws also require coal-burning plants to reduce their annual sulfur dioxide emissions from 18.9 million tons in 1980 to 8.9 million tons by 2000. Many plants have installed expensive antipollution equipment—called scrubbers—to their smokestacks or use only low-sulfur coal.

The Greenhouse Effect

During the last 100 years, the level of carbon dioxide in the earth's atmosphere has risen sharply, causing a "greenhouse effect." Carbon dioxide traps the sun's heat, thereby raising the temperature of the atmosphere. This warming of the earth could lead to serious environmental problems, although scientific evidence indicating a greenhouse effect has been inconclusive.

Nevertheless, the United Nations estimates that the average temperature worldwide will rise about one degree Celsius by 2025 and three degrees by the end of the next century. Some scientists predict that temperatures just a few degrees higher than normal would melt polar ice caps, flood coastal areas, and alter weather patterns around the world, turning productive farmland into desert.

Carbon dioxide enters the atmosphere from the burning of fossil fuels such as coal, natural gas, and oil. Automobiles, factories, and power plants in industrialized countries contribute to the earth's carbon dioxide buildup. It is also released when trees decay or are burned. Some Third World nations are cutting down their tropical forests for farmland and development, releasing carbon dioxide into the atmosphere.

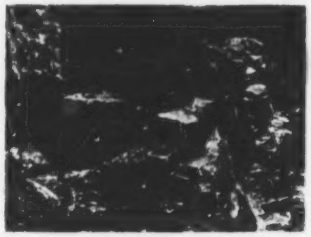
In 1988, politicians, academics, and environmentalists met in Toronto to seek solutions to global warming. Since then, several countries have held multinational environmental conferences to try

Acid rain

In Europe, where coal has been a major source of energy, concentrations of sulfur in the air have increased and have fallen to the earth as acid rain. Acid rain causes forests, such as this one in Czechoslovakia, to wither. It also damages lakes and buildings.

Debt-for-Nature Swaps

During the late 1980s, environmentalists proposed a solution to two world problems—Third World debt and a deteriorating global environment. A complicated financing scheme called debt-for-nature swaps is helping some Third World nations reduce their debt and provide money to local environment programs.



In debt-for-nature swaps, banks holding Third World debt sell the debt to environmental groups at a huge discount because they do not expect to receive the full amount from the debtor countries. The environmental groups pay the lower discount price. The banks then save money by writing off the debts on their tax statements. The countries' central banks buy their former debt—at the discounted price—from the conservation groups and issue bonds to raise money for environmental protection projects.

These agreements are helping to preserve a tropical forest in Bolivia, manage national parks in Ecuador, improve parklands in Costa Rica, and pay for conservation education in the Philippines.

to write an agreement to reduce carbon dioxide emissions. In 1990, eighteen European nations proposed freezing or cutting such emissions by 2005. U.S. officials, however, have refused to commit their nation to reductions, which would be costly for industry, until more scientific evidence shows that carbon emissions cause global warming. Environmentalists hope that an agreement can be reached in time for an environmental conference in Brazil in mid-1992. Meanwhile, countries in the European Community plan to go ahead with their own plan to reduce carbon emissions among themselves. Nations can reduce their emissions of carbon dioxide by producing automobiles that get better gas mileage or with engines that can burn other fuels, preserving forests and reducing the use of fossil fuels.

Deforestation

Each year about 28 million acres of tropical forests disappear, mostly in Africa and the Amazon basin in South America. Much of this land is lost to farmers who cut and burn trees to make room for crops and livestock.

Deforestation worries environmentalists for two reasons. First, the burning of trees contributes to the release of carbon dioxide, which causes the greenhouse effect. Since tropical forests can absorb carbon dioxide, their destruction means that more carbon dioxide is free to drift into the atmosphere. In addition, when trees burn or decay, they release more carbon dioxide into the air. The second reason deforestation worries environmentalists is that when tropical rainforests are destroyed, the animals and plants that live in the forest risk extinction. Scientists estimate that four species—mostly from the tropics—are lost every hour due to deforestation.

Although there is no treaty on deforestation, one international organization, the World Bank, has tried to protect the world's forests through its agreements with Third World nations. For example, in 1989, Madagascar agreed to protect some of its forests in exchange for economic aid from the World Bank. Some Western conservationist groups are cooperating with foreign governments to prevent farmers from cutting down trees. These groups build dams for irrigation, provide farmers with better seeds, and plant new trees. By improving farming practices near rainforests, they hope that farmers can increase their yields without clearing more trees. Conservationist groups also have helped Third World governments reduce their debts to Western banks in exchange for commitments to preserve their forests and parks.

Ozone Depletion

Ozone is a gas that is distributed in a thin layer in the earth's atmosphere. Ozone shields the earth from the sun's ultraviolet rays. These rays can weaken the human immune system, cause skin cancer and eye damage, and destroy crops. Scientists have discovered that some chemicals make the ozone layer thinner, even causing holes, which allow more ultraviolet radiation to reach the earth. In 1985, scientists found a hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica, and some believe that a second hole is developing over the Arctic.

Scientists believe that chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) are a major cause of ozone depletion. CFCs are a family of chemicals that are often used in cleaning solvents and aerosol spray cans and as coolants in refrigerators and air conditioners. CFCs can exist in the atmosphere for as long as 100 years.

In 1987, the industrialized nations signed the Montreal Protocol, which committed them to cutting the use of CFCs in half by 2000. In 1990, a second agreement among sixty-one countries was signed. The new agreement calls for a total ban on CFCs by the industrialized countries beginning in 2000. The deadline for Third World countries is 2010. Under the terms of the Montreal Protocol, the industrialized countries agreed to provide technology to help the others to substitute new chemicals to replace CFCs. They also agreed to contribute money to a fund in Montreal that will help Third World nations pay for these new technologies and chemicals, some of which may cost as much as three to five times the price of CFCs.

Global warming, deforestation, and ozone depletion threaten all nations. Some environmentalists predict that as the East-West struggle decreases in the 1990s, the environment will become a more important security issue. Traditionally, national security and the state of the environment have been treated as separate issues. Governments viewed protection of the environment as an internal problem and concentrated on cleaning their own air, lakes, and forests. But today, all countries are threatened by pollution created in other nations. Many environmentalists argue that a nation's security needs to take into account threats from environmental causes as well as military and economic threats from other nations. They claim that pollution could threaten world peace and stability more than military strength.

International Relations in the 1990s

The problems of militarization, the Third World, international trade, and the environment will be confronted by today's policymakers in the United States and in other countries. The first three problems are often areas of competition. Nations compete for the power that comes from modern weapons, the influence from allies around the world, and the profits from selling their products abroad. They can also be areas of cooperation if nations see that working together will help their citizens. Cooperation results when the national interests of many nations coincide.

The environment is a new issue on the global agenda. It offers a chance for nations to cooperate to solve problems. However, even with global agreements on the environment, nations act to enhance their national interest. Nations agree to restrict their pollution when they see that a global agreement will mean that fewer of its citizens will get cancer from ultraviolet radiation or that its fishermen will not go out of business because fewer fish will be contaminated by water pollution. However, if an agreement would require great economic sacrifices, a nation's leaders may decide not to sign it. For example, one reason that the United States is reluctant to negotiate a global warming agreement is because the economic cost to the nation to prevent further warming of the atmosphere would be too great.

Nations are willing to cooperate on some environmental and other problems because their leaders believe that cooperation will help their nations, not because it will benefit the entire world. Global interest has not yet replaced national interest in determining which policies nations pursue. However, some decisions based on national interest do benefit the world, such as agreements to increase trade, stop wars, and preserve the environment. National interest is still the main factor explaining why nations compete, why they cooperate, and why they sometimes go to war.

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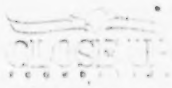

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UNDERSTANDING THE BEHAVIOR OF NATIONS

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To The Teacher

International Relations: Understanding the Behavior of Nations is designed to help your students understand why nations compete, why they cooperate, and why they sometimes go to war. This teacher's guide will help develop comprehensive lesson plans to enhance student understanding of this complex topic.

Goals

This guide should help your students to:

1. Understand the behavior of nations by defining national interest and examining the factors that affect the development of foreign policy.
2. Explore how U.S. foreign policy is made in light of the many influences that affect it.
3. Examine how international relations have changed since World War II.
4. Apply the concept of interdependence to international relations today.

Structure of Units

The teacher's guide is divided into four units, student pretest and posttest, unit test materials, and student handouts. Each unit contains the following components:

Objectives
The student objectives include both cognitive and affective goals to help you measure student learning.

Key Terms
This section contains key terms that students need to know in order to understand the concepts presented in the unit. You can use these terms as discussion starters, homework assignments, definition-finding exercises, or test questions.

Motivator
The motivator is an activity designed to capture student interest and encourage active participation.

Essay and Discussion Items
A number of evaluative, comparative, predictive, and analytical questions are contained in each unit. You can use these essay and discussion items for class discussion, debates or panels, individual research reports, or test questions.

Student Activities
Each unit contains three student activities, including at least one student handout. The student handouts for all four units are in a separate section of the teacher's guide. The guide also suggests several other classroom activities that you can use to extend the concepts presented in the chapters. These activities require application, analysis, evaluation, research, problem solving, and comparisons.

Student Pretest and Posttest

The student pretest and posttest allow you to evaluate student knowledge of international relations both before and after presenting the lesson. This pretest/posttest activity should help you determine the effectiveness of the *International Relations* materials and their usage.

Unit Test Materials

This section of the guide contains a variety of objective test items that you can use as a ready-made test, as student self-check tests, or as a source for your own tests. The true/false, multiple-choice, and fill-in-the-blank items have been taken from information presented in the four chapters of *International Relations*. Answers are included on the last page of the test materials section.

Student Handouts

The last section of the teacher's guide contains several student handouts that can be reproduced for classroom use.

Unit 1
The Behavior of Nations

Objectives

After completing this unit, students will be able to:

1. Define "national interest."
2. Trace the development of a nation's foreign policy.
3. Relate geopolitical factors to the behavior of a nation.
4. Discuss the role of national resolve in the behavior of a nation.
5. Compare and contrast the factors that affect the behavior of a developing nation with that of an industrialized nation.
6. List and describe the tools that nations use to carry out foreign policy goals.

Key Terms

ambassadors
boycott
collective security
developing nations
diplomatic immunity
diplomatic recognition
diversified economy
economic interests
foreign policy
geopolitics
ideology
interdependence
national interest
national resolve
nationalism
natural resources
relative power
sanctions
security interests
strategic advantage

Motivator

On the first day of this lesson, place the names of many nations on the chalkboard. Then, pass out a blank index card to each student as they come into the room. Ask students to study the list and, without discussing their choice with other students, write an answer to the following question on the card.

If you were a nation, which would you choose to be? Why?

Collect the cards, and read several answers aloud (anonymously, of course). Encourage students to start thinking about the self-interests of nations and the advantages each nation has to offer.

Essay and Discussion Items

1. How do the security and economic needs of a developing nation differ from those of an industrialized nation?

2. What factors make a nation powerful?

3. What role does geopolitics play in the relationships between nations? How is geopolitics affected by modern technology?

4. Why does a nation need to have a foreign policy?

5. What diplomatic actions can a nation take if it wants to improve relations with another nation? What diplomatic actions can a nation take if it disapproves of another nation's actions?

Student Activities

1. Have students complete Student Handout #1 to learn more about geopolitics and its effect on the relationships among nations. The exercise asks students to tell how each of seven geopolitical characteristics would affect a nation's relationship with other countries. The exercise should produce a variety of answers and encourage a good class discussion. Find out what nations students had in mind when they wrote their answers.

2. In Student Handout #2, students will compare an industrialized nation with a developing nation to find out how the two differ in national interest, foreign policy, geopolitics, and national resolve.

   For this research activity, have students select one developing nation and one industrialized nation (other than the United States). Over an extended period of time, they are to collect information about the two nations. Sources for the research can be textbooks, reference books, current news magazines and newspapers, as well as *International Relations*.

   After students have completed Student Handout #2, have them write a brief paper comparing and contrasting the two nations in terms of their national interest, foreign policy, geopolitics, and national resolve. Do they think these similarities and differences apply to other developing and industrialized nations? Why or why not? Can these similarities and differences be applied to the United States?

3. Student Handout #3 asks students to decide which tools of foreign policy a nation should use to promote certain security, economic, and ideological interests. After students have completed the handout, have them meet in small groups to discuss why they placed the tools where they did. They should reach a consensus as to which tools would be most effective for industrialized nations. Then, ask students to present their ideas to the rest of the class.

Unit 2
How U.S. Foreign Policy Is Made

Objectives

After completing this unit, students will be able to:

1. List the major geopolitical advantages of the United States and how they affect U.S. foreign policy.
2. Describe the process by which U.S. foreign policy is made.
3. Explain the powers of the president and Congress to affect foreign policy.
4. Discuss potential areas of ambiguity and conflict in U.S. foreign policy making.
5. Determine other influences on U.S. foreign policy and how they affect the foreign policy process.

Key Terms

advise and consent
commander-in-chief
Congressional Foreign Relations Committees
covert activities
executive agreements
foreign aid
intelligence
lobbying groups
media
National Security Council
War Powers Act

Motivator

Under the heading "American Foreign Policy," divide a bulletin board into the three sections shown below.

American Foreign Policy

Protects our citizens	*Maintains our economic and military strength*	*Preserves our nation's values*

Have students collect articles, pictures, and headlines that illustrate each component and place them in the proper column on the board. Encourage students to bring in materials throughout the unit.

Essay and Discussion Items

1. Explain what it means to call the Constitution "an invitation to struggle" over foreign policy.

2. List and briefly describe each of the persons, agencies, and organizations that help the president make foreign policy decisions.

3. What is the War Powers Act of 1973? Why have presidents considered the act to be an attack on their constitutional authority?

4. How may the U.S. Department of State and the U.S. Department of Defense come into conflict over foreign policy matters?

5. How do the House and Senate Foreign Relations Committees influence foreign policy? What other congressional committees affect foreign relations? What can they do?

6. Should members of Congress put aside party differences and present a common front when dealing with other countries? Why or why not?

7. U.S. foreign policy often fluctuates from administration to administration. How does this fluctuation affect other nations dealing with the United States?

Student Activities

1. Student Handout #4 will help students understand how the geopolitical features of the United States affect U.S. foreign policy. The exercise asks students to discuss the advantages of the location, economic system, and type of government of the United States and then to comment on how those advantages affect American foreign policy. Discuss with the class the importance of geopolitics in establishing foreign policy.

2. As students read and study "Powers of the President" and "Powers of Congress" in Chapter 2, have them list the powers of each. After they have made their lists, have students circle the powers they think may cause conflict between the two branches over foreign policy decisions. Discuss why they made the choices they did.

3. The following exercise should help students see how U.S. foreign policy is shaped by pressures from sometimes conflicting sources.

   Assign each student in the class one of the foreign policy issues listed below:

   war in the Persian Gulf, 1991
   invasion of Panama, 1989
   bombing of Libya, 1986
   selling of arms to Iran
   military aid to Israel
   development of the Strategic Defense Initiative
   sanctions against South Africa
   taking of U.S. hostages in Iran, 1979
   taking of U.S. hostages in Iraq and Kuwait, 1990

Each student should gather enough information from newspapers, news magazines, or reference books to supply the following information.

- Name of foreign policy issue
- Summary of issue
- Influences on issue by:

  president
  members of Congress
  government officials
  lobby groups
  media
  voters
  allied nations
  others

Once all the research is completed, have students with the same issue meet to compare notes and discuss what they have learned. Have them consider the following questions.

- How did each individual or group seek to influence foreign policy to their advantage? How successful were they?
- Did any individual or group seem to have a larger national interest in mind? If so, which ones? What was it? Did they attain it?
- Which individual or group seemed to exercise the greatest influence? Why?
- How might decisions have been different at another time in history?

After the small groups have discussed their foreign policy issue, have them role play the president and his or her advisers. Students should attempt to reach a decision based on what they think is in the best interest of the nation. In a report to the entire class, each small group should explain the reasons for its decision and how it was similar to or different from the actual presidential decision. Ask students how history might have been different if they had been in charge.

Unit 3
International Relations Since World War II

Objectives

After completing this unit, students will be able to:

1. Recognize the influence of NATO, the Warsaw Pact, the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the United Nations on modern international relations.
2. Trace the chronology of events that occurred from World War II to the present and relate their significance to world events today.
3. Describe how ideological differences caused a split between East and West after World War II.
4. Understand the effect the existence of nuclear weapons has had on international relations since World War II.
5. Examine the changes in Europe since 1989 and speculate on the implication of these changes for the future.

Key Terms

Berlin Wall
Cold War
Cominform
Cuban missile crisis
Hiroshima
iron curtain
Marshall Plan
Nagasaki
NATO
spheres of influence
superpower
Truman Doctrine
United Nations
Warsaw Pact
Yalta

Motivator

After students have read the chapter "International Relations Since World War II," select one student to be the classroom "whip." The whip will ask each student, in turn, to answer the following questions. Students can answer the question or pass, but the whip will repeat the question until everyone in class has had a chance to respond to it or until it is answered. You may want to add other questions to this list.

What if:

the atomic bomb had not been dropped on Japan?
Japan had not surrendered when it did?
World War II had been fought on American soil?
China were not communist today?
Eastern Europe had not rejected communism in 1989?
the United States had entered into a war because of the Cuban missile crisis?
the United Nations had never been established?
the United States had not given economic aid to Europe after World War II?
President Franklin Roosevelt had not died during the war?
there had never been an atomic bomb?
Mikhail Gorbachev had not become the Soviet leader?
the Vietnamese communists had been defeated?

Essay and Discussion Items

1. What were the primary agreements made by the allies at the Yalta Conference?
2. Compare the effect of World War II on the Soviet Union with its effect on the United States.
3. Why did President Harry Truman grant aid to the democratic factions fighting civil wars in Greece and Turkey?
4. How did the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine benefit Europe? What difficulties resulted from the two policies?
5. Why was the United States so deeply affected by the fall of China to communism in 1949?
6. Discuss how the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union affected the rest of the world during the Cold War.
7. How has the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe changed international relations?

Student Activities

1. Student Handout #5 will give students an opportunity to learn more about the effects of World War II and its aftermath on the modern world. Students are to date fifteen important historical items, arrange them in chronological order, then comment on the "legacy" of each. After they have completed the handout, lead a class discussion on the ideas raised. How is the modern world affected by the events during and following the war?
2. Divide the class into small groups of four or five students, and allow them to discuss the following questions for 20 to 30 minutes. After they have finished their discussion, have each group share their ideas and conclusions with the rest of the class.

   - Faced with the same dilemma President Truman faced after Roosevelt's death in 1945, what actions would you have taken to end World War II? Other than using the atomic bomb,what alternatives did Truman have at the time? Evaluate the effectiveness of each alternative, especially when compared with the use of the atomic bomb.
   - If you were President John F. Kennedy in 1962, how would you have reacted to Soviet missiles being placed in Cuba? What alternatives were available to Kennedy? What were the potential consequences of each alternative?

   Now, compare and contrast the situations faced by the two presidents. How were they alike? How were they different? What major factors influenced each president's decision? How was history affected by the decisions that were made?
3. Provide students with three copies of a map of Europe. Label the first map "Pre-1940," the second map "1955," and the third map "Present." For the first map, have students color in the countries that were under Soviet influence prior to World War II. On the second map, have students color in the nations that were Soviet allies when the Warsaw Pact was formed. On the third map, have them color in the European countries that are under Soviet or communist influence today.

   Now have students list the countries where the coloring has changed. Have them indicate the year in which the status changed from noncommunist to communist control and from communist to noncommunist. Ask students if they think Eastern Europe is still within the Soviet sphere of influence. Why or why not?

   Challenge students to come up with explanations for the trends they charted. Ask them to speculate on what the map will look like in forty or fifty years and explain their reasoning.

Unit 4
World Issues Today

Objectives

After completing this unit, students will be able to:

1. Understand the effect weapons buildups have had on international relations since World War II.
2. Trace the emergence of the Third World from post-World War II to the present.
3. Identify the ways in which world leaders have encouraged world trade since World War II.
4. Explain why environmental problems are a global concern.
5. List examples of global environmental problems and explain how nations can cooperate to improve these conditions.

Key Terms

acid rain
conventional weapons
First World
fixed exchange rates
floating exchange rates
free trade
greenhouse effect
interdependence
nuclear deterrence
nuclear-free zone
ozone
protectionism
quotas
Second World
self-determination
tariffs
Third World

Motivator

Ask the students to name global problems that face the United States today. Write their responses on the board. When the students have completed their list, have the class decide which three issues are the most serious.

Divide the board into three sections. Write one issue at the top of each section. Next, have the students think of ways the United States can help solve each problem. Record their responses on the board.

Finally, review the students' solutions. Do most of the proposed solutions involve the United States acting alone or with other nations? Ask the class whether the United States should cooperate with other nations to solve these problems. In leading the discussion, encourage students to consider the pros and cons of working with other countries.

Essay and Discussion Items

1. As more nations join the "nuclear club," does the world become a more dangerous place? Explain your answer.

2. What problems did the former European colonies have after being given independence in the postwar period?

3. Focusing on the areas of health, economics, and education, what are some differences in living conditions between developing nations and industrialized nations?

4. Why do most world nations engage in international trade?

5. Why are governments concerned about the quality of the global environment?

Student Activities

1. Have students complete Student Handout #6 to learn more about the ways in which world leaders have encouraged trade. The exercise asks your students to match descriptions of five different conferences or establishments designed to encourage world trade. Students can find the information in *International Relations*.

2. Write the following quotation on the board: "In the modern world, no nation acts in isolation." Encourage students to keep this quote in mind as they complete the following exercise. As they read and study each section of the chapter in *International Relations*, have them list specific examples of interdependence as they pertain to the following broad topics:

   - Buildups of nuclear and conventional weapons
   - Problems of developing nations
   - Stability of the international economy
   - Protection of the environment

   After students have finished, discuss their findings. List all of the different examples on the chalkboard, and discuss their accuracy and importance to the topic.

3. Take an informal poll of the class by having students choose which statement most closely represents their position on each of the following four issues. Conduct the poll one or two days before proceeding with the research portion of this activity. Tally the results for later use.

Military Buildups

A. All nations should have a chance to acquire the power and prestige that come from developing a nuclear arsenal.

B. In the nuclear era, the ultimate goal of every government's foreign policy must be to ensure the survival of the planet, not its own personal power and prestige.

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Third World Issues

A. It is time for industrialized nations to provide the Third World with the means to make developing countries equal with the rest of the world.

B. Most of the problems facing Third World nations can be blamed on poor economic planning, not poor treatment by industrialized countries.

Free Trade Versus Protectionism

A. Consumer demand alone should determine which products are sold in a country and at what price.

B. A nation's primary responsibility is to protect its domestic industries from foreign competition, no matter what method it uses.

Environment

A. Each nation should be responsible for setting pollution standards within its borders.

B. Nations should seek to set global pollution standards through negotiated agreements.

After you have conducted the poll, divide the class into four groups. Each group will research one of the four issues listed above. Each group should select either of the two positions used for the poll. Their task is to outline, research, and develop arguments supporting their position. After developing their arguments, each group will present their views to the class. They should make a 10- or 15-minute presentation using visual aids, handouts, role playing, or any other technique they believe might be effective. Allow enough time for the rest of the class to ask questions of the presenters.

Follow up the group presentations a day or two later by repeating the poll. Make the results of both polls available to the class. If the second poll yields different results than the first, discuss why. Encourage students to examine any changes in their own personal attitudes as a result of this exercise.

Student Pretest and Posttest

In the following pages are a pretest and posttest that you can use to:

- compare group results to see how much the class changes from the beginning of the lesson to the end.
- compare individual changes in attitude and knowledge.
- pinpoint overall areas of student strengths and weaknesses to guide you in your follow-up and future teaching strategies.

Administer the pretest to your class before beginning study of *International Relations*. Try to avoid discussing any of the topics in the lesson before giving the pretest so that the results are not biased. Score the pretest, and keep the results confidential until later comparison with the posttest. After finishing your study of *International Relations*, administer the posttest in the same manner. Comparison of the results of the two tests should help you determine the effectiveness of the lesson.

Both the pretest and posttest contain the same five attitudinal items. Each test also has twelve objective test items. These twelve items are similar to the objective test items included with this teacher's guide. To aid you in your analysis of your students' strong and weak areas, the following table is included.

Table of Specifications
Pretest and Posttest

Unit	Attitudinal Item Number	Objective Item Number
1. The Behavior of Nations	1	1, 2, 3
2. How U.S. Foreign Policy Is Made	2	4, 5, 6
3. International Relations Since World War II	3	7, 8, 9
4. World Issues Today	4	10, 11, 12
5. Overall	5	

The five attitudinal items can be scored by giving a 1 for each "Not Much" response, a 2 for each "Somewhat," and a 3 for each "Very Much." A student can have a score ranging from 5 to 15 on the attitudinal portion of the tests. An increase or decrease in this score from pretest to posttest should help you detect a positive or negative shift in student attitudes toward international relations.

Students receive one point for each correct answer on the twelve objective test items. As with the attitudinal items, any shift in scores from pretest to posttest should help you measure cognitive changes before and after your students have studied the *International Relations* materials.

Pretest

Put a check in the column after each item that best describes your position.

	Not much	Somewhat	Very much
1. I consider myself knowledgeable about the behavior of nations.	_____	_____	_____
2. I understand how U.S. foreign policy is made.	_____	_____	_____
3. I am familiar with significant historical events that have occurred since World War II.	_____	_____	_____
4. I am concerned about the deterioration of the environment.	_____	_____	_____
5. I believe the nations of the world should function in an interdependent manner.	_____	_____	_____

Circle the letter preceding the best answer.

1. National interest is a relatively simple concept.
   a. true
   b. false

2. A large nation is more likely to
   a. suffer from military attack.
   b. develop a diversified economy.
   c. succumb to a national disaster.
   d. all of the above.

3. The actions and events that occur in one nation affect many other nations because today's world is
   a. unilateral.
   b. interdependent.
   c. diversified.
   d. geopolitical.

4. The Constitution leaves little room for argument over foreign policy authority.
   a. true
   b. false

5. American foreign policy is affected by
   a. White House advisers.
   b. lobbying groups.
   c. voters.
   d. all of the above.

6. Treaties must be approved by two-thirds of the
   a. Senate.
   b. House of Representatives.
   c. voting public.
   d. Supreme Court.

7. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan served to help unite a previously divided Europe.
   a. true
   b. false

8. As a result of World War II, the United States experienced all of the following except
   a. massive rebuilding of cities and towns.
   b. an end to the Great Depression.
   c. scientific and technological advances.
   d. economic benefits from the production of war materials.

9. The Grand Alliance consisted of the three nations of
   a. the United States, Japan, and Great Britain.
   b. the Soviet Union, China, and Japan.
   c. the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain.
   d. Great Britain, the United States, and China.

10. Independence solved the problems of the countries that had been colonies prior to World War II.
   a. true
   b. false

11. Which statement relating trade to foreign policy is inaccurate?
   a. Trade can be used to influence a nation to change a particular policy.
   b. A politically stable nation is generally an unpredictable trading partner.
   c. Trade was a key element of *detente* between the United States and the Soviet Union.
   d. Protectionist trade barriers can create ill will among nations.

12. The term that was first used to describe those nations breaking away from their colonial origins was
   a. First World nations.
   b. Second World nations.
   c. Third World nations.
   d. United Nations.

Posttest

Put a check in the column after each item that best describes your position.

	Not much	Somewhat	Very much
1. I consider myself knowledgeable about the behavior of nations.	_____	_____	_____
2. I understand how U.S. foreign policy is made.	_____	_____	_____
3. I am familiar with significant historical events that have occurred since World War II.	_____	_____	_____
4. I am concerned about the deterioration of the environment.	_____	_____	_____
5. I believe the nations of the world should function in an interdependent manner.	_____	_____	_____

Circle the letter preceding the best answer.

1. No nation has absolute power.
   a. true
   b. false

2. A nation's interest is determined by its leaders' assessments of
   a. threats to its security.
   b. the health of its economy.
   c. the general well-being of its citizens.
   d. all of the above.

3. All nations have an interest in protecting and promoting their beliefs, culture, values, religion, and historical experiences, otherwise known as their
   a. national interest.
   b. economic interest.
   c. ideology.
   d. foreign policy.

4. The president, top White House advisers, and members of Congress are the only people who play a role in determining U.S. foreign policy.
   a. true
   b. false

5. Under the Constitution, Congress has all the following foreign policy powers except
   a. the power to declare war.
   b. the power to make treaties.
   c. the power to control spending.
   d. the power to confirm presidential nominations.

6. Because of the competition among various groups, U.S. foreign policy is
   a. relatively stable.
   b. almost stagnant.
   c. constantly changing.
   d. extremely predictable.

7. NATO was established to provide economic aid for rebuilding Europe after World War II.
   a. true
   b. false

8. The policy that states that an attack on any one member nation will be considered an attack on all member nations is the policy established in the
   a. Marshall Plan.
   b. Truman Doctrine.
   c. United Nations.
   d. North Atlantic Treaty.

9. The United States and the Soviet Union emerged from World War II as
   a. superpowers.
   b. broken nations.
   c. allies.
   d. similar in foreign policy goals.

10. Today, few nations can satisfy all their people's needs and desires with the resources available within their own borders.
    a. true
    b. false

11. The pair of terms that most closely describes nations at approximately the same stage of economic development is
    a. First World and South.
    b. First World and underdeveloped.
    c. Third World and South.
    d. Third World and industrialized.

12. Generally, as trade between two nations increases, the likelihood that they will try to avoid conflict in other areas
    a. increases.
    b. decreases.
    c. stays about the same.
    d. is not affected.

Answers

Pretest Objective Questions

1. b
2. b
3. b
4. b
5. d
6. a
7. b
8. a
9. c
10. b
11. b
12. c

Posttest Objective Questions

1. a
2. d
3. c
4. b
5. b
6. c
7. b
8. d
9. a
10. a
11. c
12. a

Unit Test Materials

Unit 1: The Behavior of Nations

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. National interest is a relatively simple concept.

____ 2. A good foreign policy should try to balance the immediate needs of a nation with long-term goals.

____ 3. No nation has absolute power.

____ 4. Size is a major geopolitical characteristic.

____ 5. The Soviet Union, like the United States, has had few hostile neighbors on its borders.

Multiple choice: Circle the letter preceding the best choice.

6. The term used to describe the combination of beliefs, culture, values, religion, and historical experiences of a nation's people is
   a. national interest.
   b. economic interest.
   c. ideology.
   d. foreign policy.

7. A nation's interest is determined by its leaders' assessments of
   a. threats to its security.
   b. the health of its economy.
   c. the general well-being of its citizens.
   d. all of the above.

8. The ability of a nation to carry out its foreign policy is based on all of the following factors except
   a. the capability of its government to fund its foreign policy programs.
   b. a focus on long-term goals with no willingness to adjust in light of new circumstances.
   c. the strength of the nation's military.
   d. the commitment of its people to support their leader's foreign policy actions.

9. The more diverse a nation's resources and geopolitical characteristics,
   a. the more powerful the nation is likely to be.
   b. the less powerful the nation is likely to be.
   c. the smaller a nation is likely to be.
   d. the more national resolve the nation is likely to exhibit.

10. A large nation is more likely to
    a. suffer from military attack.
    b. develop a diversified economy.
    c. succumb to a national disaster.
    d. all of the above.

Fill in the blank: Complete each statement.

11. The actions and events that occur in one nation affect many other nations because today's world is _____.

12. A nation's concern about depends on the perception of threats _____ against it.

13. Besides security and economic concerns, most nations are also interested in promoting and protecting their _____.

14. The responsibility for determining the national interest falls to the _____ of the nation.

15. A key factor in international relations is _____, that is, a nation's ability to influence others.

Unit 2: How U.S. Foreign Policy Is Made

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The stability of our nation is jeopardized by the diversity of our economy.

____ 2. The Constitution leaves little room for argument over foreign policy authority.

____ 3. None of the military conflicts fought by the United States since World War II has involved a declaration of war.

____ 4. In recent decades, intelligence agencies have become decreasingly important in foreign policy decisions.

____ 5. The president, top White House advisers, and members of Congress are the only people who play a role in determining U.S. foreign policy.

Multiple choice: Circle the letter preceding the best choice.

6. Under the Constitution, Congress has all the following foreign policy powers except
   a. the power to declare war.
   b. the power to make treaties.
   c. the power to control spending.
   d. the power to confirm presidential nominations.

7. American foreign policy is affected by
   a. White House advisers.
   b. lobbying groups.
   c. voters.
   d. all of the above.

8. When he became president, George Bush reversed his predecessor's foreign policy dealing with
   a. arms control.
   b. human rights.
   c. military aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*.
   d. all of the above.

9. The organization within the White House that coordinates foreign policy is the
   a. Department of State.
   b. National Security Council.
   c. Foreign Service.
   d. Central Intelligence Agency.

10. The responsibility for balancing the competing forces that influence U.S. foreign policy and developing a foreign policy that will be beneficial to the United States as a whole rests with
    a. the president and his advisers.
    b. members of Congress.
    c. special interest groups.
    d. the media.

Fill in the blank: Complete each statement.

11. U.S. foreign policy reflects our nation's desire to advance the cause of _____ in the world.

12. Treaties must be approved by the U.S. _____.

13. Americans who are not members of special interest organizations can influence foreign policy by_____.

14. Because of the competition among various groups, U.S. foreign policy is constantly _____.

15. Because they do not require Senate approval, presidents have frequently used international accords called _____.

Unit 3: International Relations Since World War II

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. At Yalta, the task of liberating Eastern Europe from Nazi control was given to the Soviets.

____ 2. The Japanese surrendered within weeks after the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

____ 3. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan served to help unite a previously divided Europe.

____ 4. NATO was established to provide economic aid for rebuilding Europe after World War II.

____ 5. The INF agreement was the first arms control treaty to mandate the destruction of nuclear weapons.

Multiple choice: Circle the letter preceding the best choice.

6. As a result of World War II, the United States experienced all of the following except
   a. massive rebuilding of cities and towns.
   b. an end to the Great Depression.
   c. scientific and technological advances.
   d. economic benefits from the production of war materials.

7. Within a matter of weeks after the liberation of Eastern Europe from Nazi control, the Soviet Union established communist governments in
   a. Germany and Austria.
   b. Italy and France.
   c. Poland and Romania.
   d. Greece and Turkey.

8. Since World War II, the world has come closest to nuclear war
   a. when the Berlin Wall was erected.
   b. at the time of the Cuban missile crisis.
   c. when China became a communist nation.
   d. shortly after the Truman Doctrine was enacted.

9. After the United States withdrew its troops, communists took control of
   a. South Korea.
   b. South Vietnam.
   c. Cuba.
   d. Nicaragua.

10. Under Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union
    a. held multiparty elections.
    b. improved relations with the United States.
    c. cut troops and military equipment in Eastern Europe.
    d. all of the above.

Fill in the blank: Complete each statement.

11. The Grand Alliance consisted of the three nations of _____, _____, and _____.

12. The United States and the Soviet Union emerged from World War II as _____.

13. As Soviet leader Josef Stalin continued his effort to control Eastern Europe, the Soviet government launched a bitter _____ campaign against the United States.

14. The policy of granting aid to stop the spread of communism became known as the _____.

15. After the fall of China in 1949, the fear of further communist expansion in the Far East prompted a change in the U.S. attitude toward the nation of _____.

True/false: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. After World War II, most of the world's people were more concerned about superpower rivalry than economic development.

____ 2. Independence solved the problems of the countries that had been colonies prior to World War II.

____ 3. A default by a Third World country on a major loan could threaten the health of the international banking system.

____ 4. Today, few nations can satisfy all their people's needs and desires with the resources available within their own borders.

____ 5. Restrictions on trade can cause the price of imported goods to increase.

Multiple choice: Circle the letter preceding the best choice.

6. The pair of terms that most closely describes nations at approximately the same stage of economic development is
   a. First World and South.
   b. First World and underdeveloped.
   c. Third World and South.
   d. Third World and industrialized.

7. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
   a. holds negotiations to reduce tariffs worldwide.
   b. is abided by all nations in the world.
   c. uses trade sanctions to influence changes in policy.
   d. all of the above.

8. Which statement relating trade to foreign policy is inaccurate?
   a. Trade can be used to influence a nation to change a particular policy.
   b. A politically stable nation is generally an unpredictable trading partner.
   c. Trade was a key element of *detente* between the United States and the Soviet Union.
   d. Protectionist trade barriers can create ill will among nations.

9. In the Montreal Protocol, the industrialized nations agreed to
   a. cut their use of CFCs.
   b. reduce carbon emissions.
   c. lower sulfur emissions.
   d. help Third World countries preserve tropical rain forests.

10. The "Atoms for Peace" program
    a. helped France and China build nuclear weapons.
    b. established a "nuclear-free zone" in Latin America.
    c. provided nuclear technology for energy production and medical research.
    d. all of the above.

Fill in the blank: Complete each statement.

11. The term that was first used to describe those nations breaking away from their colonial origins was _____.

12. In a floating exchange system, the value of a country's currency reflects the _____ of its economy.

13. _____, a military strategy pursued by the United States and the Soviet Union since the 1960s, requires each nation to have enough nuclear weapons to survive an attack and still destroy the other.

14. Generally, as trade between two nations increases, the likelihood that they will try to avoid conflict in other areas _____.

15. _____ causes the destruction of forests, lakes, and buildings in many parts of the world.

Answers

Unit 1

1. F It is not a simple concept because not all citizens agree.
2. T
3. T
4. T
5. F The Soviet Union has often had hostile neighbors on its borders.
6. c
7. d
8. b
9. a
10. b
11. interdependent
12. security
13. ideology
14. leaders
15. power

Unit 2

1. F A diversified economy makes a nation more stable.
2. F The Constitution is not entirely clear on foreign policy authority.
3. T
4. F Intelligence agencies have become increasingly important.
5. F Media, special interest groups, and voters also play important roles.
6. b
7. d
8. c
9. b
10. a
11. democracy or freedom
12. Senate
13. voting
14. changing
15. executive agreements

Unit 3

1. T
2. T
3. F They were supposed to keep communism from spreading. They did not unify a divided Europe.
4. F NATO was established as a military alliance against the Soviet Union and its allies.
5. T
6. a
7. c
8. b
9. b
10. d
11. United States, Great Britain, Soviet Union
12. superpowers
13. propaganda
14. Truman Doctrine
15. Japan

Unit 4

1. F Economic development was the central concern.
2. F Independence created many problems for the former colonies.
3. T
4. T
5. T
6. c
7. a
8. b
9. a
10. c
11. Third World
12. health
13. nuclear deterrence
14. increases
15. acid rain

Student Handout #1

Geopolitical Effects

Several geopolitical characteristics are listed below. In the space below each item, tell what effect you think that characteristic would have on a nation's relationship with other nations.

1. Large size

2. Borders with no natural barriers

3. Few natural resources

4. Bordered by hostile neighbors

5. Surrounded by oceans

6. Endowed with a few key natural resources

7. Diversity of natural resources

Student Handout #2

Comparing Nations

Name of developing nation: _____

National Interest

- What are the nation's security needs?
- What are the nation's economic interests?
- How would you describe the nation's ideology?
- How would you summarize the nation's national interest?

Foreign Policy

- What are the nation's immediate or short-term foreign policy goals?
- What are the nation's long-term foreign policy goals?
- Who determines the nation's foreign policy?

Geopolitics

- How is the nation's behavior affected by its size?
- How is the nation's behavior affected by its terrain?
- How is the nation's behavior affected by its natural resources?
- How is the nation's behavior affected by its location?
- How would you summarize the nation's geopolitical power?

National Resolve

- How willing do you think the nation's people would be to sacrifice in order to achieve national goals? How powerful does this resolve seem to be?

Name of industrialized nation: _____

National Interest

- What are the nation's security needs?
- What are the nation's economic interests?
- How would you describe the nation's ideology?
- How would you summarize the nation's national interest?

Foreign Policy

- What are the nation's immediate or short-term foreign policy goals?
- What are the nation's long-term foreign policy goals?
- Who determines the nation's foreign policy?

Geopolitics

- How is the nation's behavior affected by its size?
- How is the nation's behavior affected by its terrain?
- How is the nation's behavior affected by its natural resources?
- How is the nation's behavior affected by its location?
- How would you summarize the nation's geopolitical power?

National Resolve

- How willing do you think the nation's people would be to sacrifice in order to achieve national goals? How powerful does this resolve seem to be?

Student Handout #3

Foreign Policy and National Interest

Complete the following chart by deciding which tool of foreign policy would be most effective in promoting each of the aspects of security, economic, and ideological interests listed in the lefthand column. Make your choice from the following list of tools:

propaganda
diplomacy
trade relations
foreign aid
alliances
international and regional organizations
boycotts and sanctions
military force

Security Interests	Tools
• protect and defend nation from outside attack	
• provide adequate food, clothing, shelter, and health care needs for all citizens	

Economic Interests	Tools
• engage in world trade	
• promote domestic economic growth	
• develop human and natural resources	

Ideological Interests	Tools
• work toward world peace	
• protect and promote national ideology	

Student Handout #4

Geopolitics and U.S. Foreign Policy

Listed below are three unique features of the United States. In the space beneath each item, describe the advantage of that feature to our nation and explain the effect it has on U.S. foreign policy.

1. Location

2. Economic system

3. Type of government

Student Handout #5

Legacies of World War II

Identify the date, including the month and year, when each of the following events occurred. Use the chart to arrange the events in chronological order, and write a brief summary of the significance of each event.

1. _____ Marshall Plan adopted
2. _____ Berlin Wall built
3. _____ NATO established
4. _____ World War II ends in Europe
5. _____ Japan surrenders
6. _____ Cuban missile crisis
7. _____ Truman Doctrine established
8. _____ Yalta Conference
9. _____ China falls to communists
10. _____ Berlin Wall opens
11. _____ Warsaw Pact established
12. _____ atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima
13. _____ Mikhail Gorbachev becomes Soviet leader
14. _____ Berlin airlift begins
15. _____ Multiparty elections held in Poland

Date	Event	Significance to World Events
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		
10.		
11.		
12.		
13.		
14.		
15.		

Student Handout #6

Encouraging World Trade

Listed below are five international efforts to encourage world trade. Match each item with the phrase that best describes it.

A. Bretton Woods conferences
B. International Monetary Fund
C. World Bank
D. General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
E. Economic summits

____ 1. lends money to nations in need of financial assistance

____ 2. established a code of conduct for trading nations

____ 3. assisted in financing postwar reconstruction projects

____ 4. developed the international economic system that exists today

____ 5. supports less developed nations in their search for credit

____ 6. attempts to coordinate policies and solutions to problems common to the leading noncommunist trade nations

____ 7. adopted guidelines on currency exchange rates between nations

____ 8. seeks to protect manufacturing industries of noncommunist Western nations against increasing foreign competition

____ 9. provided an international forum for nations to discuss trade issues such as tariffs and quotas

____ 10. established in 1947

____ 11. originally met before the end of World War II

____ 12. began in 1975

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